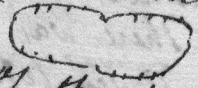



BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S
PUBLICATIONS

General Editors: MADGE DRESSER
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VOL. 64
THE DIARY OF WILLIAM DYER:
BRISTOL IN 1762

much less when there was light
 in the room than when the candles
 were carried out. & therefore the
 candles were several times carried
 out of the room & Dollys hands
 were put out of bed but covered
 with a cloth. ~~The Dollys which~~
 but notwithstanding she was very
 soon after bit. & Dollys arm
 I held myself & she was also
 bit & sometimes the print of
 the teeth were so exceedingly deep as
 if it were just thro' the skin
 once or twice there seemed
 to have been two bites this
 just after each other in an
 oval form ^{thus}  ~~that~~
 but the generality of the bites
 were only in this shape  & what is most remarkable

A page of Dyer's diary for 7 January 1762 (see p. 44) showing his drawings of
 bitemarks on the bodies of the Giles's children, attributed to witchcraft.

THE DIARY OF WILLIAM DYER: BRISTOL IN 1762

EDITED

BY

JONATHAN BARRY

Published by
BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY
2012

ISBN 978 0 901538 31 4
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The Bristol Record Society acknowledges with thanks the continued support of Bristol City Council, the University of the West of England, the University of Bristol, the Bristol Record Office, the Bristol and West Building Society and the Society of Merchant Venturers.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I have been living with William Dyer's diary since the early 1980s, and I have accumulated numerous debts, scholarly and personal, in the subsequent thirty years. I can only mention a few, but I would like to thank the late Roy Porter and all those at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine in Oxford who initially listened to my ideas on Dyer. Since 1985 I have enjoyed the pleasure of working in the History Department at the University of Exeter, where I was able to develop my interests in the history of witchcraft: colleagues and students (especially those on the M.A. in the History and Literature of Witchcraft) have helped me to understand the Lamb Inn case, as have numerous witchcraft historians, especially my friends Owen Davies (who alerted me to the Staffordshire material) and Willem de Blécourt. I have also collaborated fruitfully with other historians of Bristol, notably Kenneth Morgan, and especially those involved in the Centre for Regional History at the University of West of England, especially Steve Poole, Jonathan Harlow, Peter Fleming and Madge Dresser, the last three of whom have also supported me in their roles within the Bristol Record Society. I am grateful for the Society's generosity in funding the digital photography of Dyer's diaries for me, and to staff in the Bristol Record Office for undertaking this, as well as to Jane Bradley and her staff at Bristol Reference Library for allowing the reproduction of the text and answering questions. I thank the Earl of Dartmouth for permission to quote from the Dartmouth papers in the Staffordshire Record Office. As I was working on this edition, I discovered that Mike Slater had independently photographed and transcribed the diary; it has been a pleasure to share enthusiasm about the diary with him, and he has supplied many references from his own research which have enriched the footnotes. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their support, and in particular my wife Nicole, without whom Dyer might have waited longer still for publication!

Jonathan Barry

INTRODUCTION

The diary

In October 1950, Edward Gregory of Downend presented the Bristol Public Libraries with a set of diaries, all associated with William Dyer (1730–1801). These comprised: a two-volume epitome (compiled by Dyer during February–June 1801) of the diaries he had kept continuously from July 1751 until April 1801 (BCL 20095, hereafter called his ‘epitomised diary’); his original diary for 1762 (BCL 20096); and his transcription of the diary of his friend Rachel Tucker*¹ for 1767, which he had completed in March 1769 (BCL 20097, bound at the back of BCL 20096). The volume containing the diary for 1762 and the Tucker transcription is bound in maroon cloth, with no lettering on the outside, in a volume 17 cm high, 11 wide and 4.5 deep. Some of the pages have got out of sequence.² The edges of some pages are worn away (especially in the earliest entries) and some of the writing is also concealed inside the binding. However, Dyer’s writing in the diary is generally clear and legible, although not written in his best hand. I have reproduced the text as closely as possible to how it is written, preserving his abbreviations, punctuation (or lack of it) and spacing, but I have not followed his capitalization.³ Where Dyer has crossed out a passage or word I have not included it, even where it is legible, and I have omitted later marks and comments on the text, with a few exceptions.⁴

¹ An asterisk after a name the first time they are mentioned here indicates that there is a biography of the person at the end of this volume.

² The (fragmented) entries for 1–2 January are placed in late November, 13–15 December are out of order and there is a gap for 17–21 December inclusive, fragments of two (unspecified) days of which survive pasted on top of the entry for 29 March.

³ There is no apparent pattern to his use of capitals and in the case of several letters he writes lower and upper case very similarly. I have adopted the modern convention and only capitalised proper names and associated titles

⁴ There are marks on the text (usually two vertical lines crossed by a horizontal) drawing attention to a particular passage. These may be original, but more likely they were made by Dyer himself when he was preparing the epitomised version, and are omitted, as are a few later notes on the text and a modern newspaper clipping (inserted perhaps by Mr Gregory, together with the latter’s handwritten note about the diary dated 26 October which is pasted into the front).

In Dyer's original diary he made an entry on 19 April 1777: 'should this & my other journals or diarys fall into my executors hands it is my will & desire that they be immediately burnt without being inspected by any person ... [being] for my view⁵ solely and only penned for my own use and amusement'. In the epitomised diary he writes 'my diary this day expresses my will that at my decease all my diarys may be burnt they being only by way of memorandums for my own particular use and as remembrancers and the 5 March 1801 I now submit the same to my brother Samuel's* discretion – at the same time desiring that such diaries may not fall into any other hands whatsoever and therefore that at any rate he will take care they shall be destroyed before his own decease'. Either William himself or Samuel (who died in 1809) or some later family member may well have destroyed all the other diaries, but they preserved both the epitomised diary and that for 1762. The diary pages for 19 and 20 April 1777 were bound into his diary for 1762, suggesting that perhaps he (or his executor) wished this record of his wishes to be retained with that diary.

Why did the diary for 1762 alone survive, of all fifty volumes (potentially comprising some two and a half million words)? One possible reason is that the diary of Rachel Tucker was bound into the back, and Samuel (if it was he) felt he should preserve that, along with the epitomised diary, which William had not explicitly required should be destroyed. (Indeed, why did he bother to produce an epitome, complete with its own elaborate index at the end to all the people named, so shortly before his death, unless he wished it kept?) The other reason (and this is what Edward Gregory assumes) may be that it contained details of the Lamb Inn 'witchcraft' case of 1761–2, about which there was still great interest in the 1800s. Dyer's friend Henry Durbin's* account of the affair, compiled in 1763–4, was published (after his death in 1798) in 1800, so perhaps William and/or Samuel thought the diary should be preserved as a record of that controversial episode.⁵ In this edition I have reproduced, following the diary, the other known manuscript sources for the affair, which are in the Dartmouth collection in the Staffordshire Record Office. They comprise two letters to Lord Dartmouth (William Legge*) by Rev. James Brown* of Bristol from February and April 1762 and (enclosed with the latter) extracts of the diaries of William Dyer and George Eaton* regarding the Lamb Inn affair, from December–February 1762. Although space does not allow the reproduction of the whole of Durbin's published account (in any case reprinted in 1971), I have indicated in the footnotes, with extensive quotations, where Durbin's version adds to, or differs from, that provided by Dyer and Eaton. I have also referred to the letters and references to the affair made in the Bristol and London papers for 1762, but again these are not reproduced in full.⁶

⁵ *A Narrative of Some Extraordinary Things that Happened to Mr. Richard Giles's Children at the Lamb, without Lawford's Gate, Bristol* (Bristol, 1800), reprinted as *Witchcraft at the Lamb Inn Bristol* by Henry Durbin ed. Robert A. Gilbert (Leicester, 1971).

⁶ My initial analysis of the Lamb Inn case in J. Barry, 'Public infidelity and private belief? The discourse of spirits in Enlightenment Bristol' in Owen Davies and Willem de Blecourt (ed.), *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 117–43, is substantially extended in the chapter of the same title in my forthcoming book, *Witchcraft and Demonology in South-West England c.1640–1790* (Basingstoke, 2011), where interested readers will find full scholarly references for all the material presented here. I am particularly grateful to Owen Davies and Mike Slater for information which has underpinned this work.

I have also reproduced the entries in Dyer's epitomised diary which cover 1762, partly because they introduce some extra information, and partly because they indicate what Dyer himself, in 1801, found most memorable about the events of 1762. Unsurprisingly, many of the extracts relate to the Lamb Inn affair. Otherwise they are typical of his epitomised diary as a whole in picking out remarks about dreams or the meaning of life, noting medical or electrical remedies, and recording the births, deaths, marriages and business failures of people that he knew, along with a few national events. Interestingly, he epitomises very little about either his work or his family (his brother John's* bankruptcy is given no more attention than that of Edward Searle*, where Dyer helped to sort out the creditors), perhaps because 1762 was not a year of great change in his work or family situation. I have made extensive use of the epitomised diary as a whole to fill in the background to the events of 1762, and in particular to flesh out Dyer's relationships with the people with whom he interacted during that year. However, the material in the epitomised version, rich as it is (and well worth publication in its own right), lacks much of the immediacy and depth of the actual diary, as well as raising all the issues of any retrospective selection, coloured (though also informed) by Dyer's views in 1801.

What makes the diary for 1762 so worthy of publication, and how does it compare with other published diaries of the period, or with unpublished diary material for Bristol in this period? It stands out for several features. First, its compiler does not come from the professions (especially clerical) or the gentry whose diaries have most often survived.⁷ Though Dyer ended his life a prosperous man (see below) he came from the middling sort and never held any position more significant than a grand jurymen or parish official, nor featured actively in public life. He knew many of Bristol's most important men, and he met a surprising number of famous people (John and Charles Wesley, Joseph Priestley, Edward Jenner) yet he was himself a 'nobody'.⁸

Second, many 'diaries' of non-elite people in this period are not in fact daily records of an individual's life, recorded on a daily basis. Instead, they exemplify forms of recording which underlay diary writing, but also persisted alongside it (there being no standard model of 'diary-keeping' before 1800).⁹ These forms include spiritual journals in which the events occurring to the person are more or less occluded by his or her spiritual reflections on their meaning. Dyer's preface to Rachel Tucker's diary, which fits this model, notes that 'the circumstances which were the cause of her

⁷ W. Matthews, *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries written between 1442 and 1942* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1950); P. Havlice, *And So to Bed: a bibliography of diaries published in English* (Metachen, New Jersey, 1987); H. Creaton (ed.), *Unpublished London Diaries* (London Record Society, 37, 2003).

⁸ See my earlier sketch of Dyer's intellectual and social contacts in 'Piety and the Patient: Medicine and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Bristol', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 145–75. I have given there scholarly references for many of the claims made below regarding his religious and medical connections.

⁹ R.A. Fothergill, *Private Chronicles: A study of English diaries* (1974); F. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject* (Baltimore, 1989); M. Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self* (Stanford, 1996); S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, diaries and the English diurnal form 1660–1785* (Chicago and London, 1996); B. Glaser, *The Creation of the Self in Autobiographical Forms of Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Heidelberg, 1999); S. Sherman, 'Diary and Autobiography' in J.J. Richetti (ed.), *Cambridge History of English Literature 1660–1780* (Cambridge, 2005), 649–72; D. Doll and J. Munns (ed.), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century diary and journal* (Lewisburg, 2006).

particular exercises are commonly omitted or but slightly hinted at and mention made only of what she felt yet enough is expressed to show the workings and strugglings of a soul devoted to God'.¹⁰ Dyer was a very religious man (and clearly valued such reflections in Tucker's diary), and his diary includes some spiritual observations, but never at length and always stimulated by some specified event (including dreams, see below): he notes that in 1755 'part of this year I kept a separate diary relating to the state of my mind', but this is never mentioned again. A second form was a diary reporting in detail, not on normal daily life as a whole, but on journeys or some particular feature of life, such as the weather or farming conditions.¹¹ Dyer only travelled relatively infrequently (in 1762 only one overnight trip to nearby Gloucester) and does not appear (judging by the epitomised diary) to have made any special record of such travels, while his comments on the weather are very sparse, mostly only when there is a storm or bad weather prevents him doing something planned (his record of the beauties of the countryside on 3 September is completely untypical). A third form is the keeping of financial accounts, sometimes of household expenditure, around which the writer might note other family or public events: despite (or perhaps because of!) being an accountant by occupation, Dyer shows no sign of having kept such personal accounts, and his diary contains no references to spending and very little to income.¹² Fourthly, there are books of memoranda or commonplace books, where authors compiled notes of interesting items, often on a very irregular basis: Dyer refers to his diaries (see above) as 'memorandums' and 'remembrancers', and some diary items he epitomises fall into this category, such as remarks from books or conversations or the medical remedies he records (he may have kept a separate 'medical book' as one is referred to in 1800 with at least 199 pages), but his diaries as such are not simply memoranda.¹³ Finally, there are annals/memoirs, where a chronological approach is adopted to record the significant events in the lives of family, friends or the local community; once again, his epitomised diary tends to pick out this material, and he may have begun his life keeping such annals.¹⁴ His epitomised diary starts with material 'extracted from black-cover'd pocket book' with

¹⁰ For Methodist examples in their archives in the John Ryland Library, University of Manchester, and for Moravian material in Bristol University Library's Special Collection, see the selections edited by Kenneth Morgan and Madge Dresser respectively in J. Barry and K. Morgan (ed.), *Reformation and Revival in Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol Record Society, 45, 1994). There are also some Baptist examples in Angus Library, Regent's College, Oxford, e.g. memoranda books of J.C. Ryland 1744–5 (6e 27 (1–8)) and in the diary of Joseph Mason, who kept a lunatic asylum at Stapleton, for 1763, in the Bristol University Library, although this, like Dyer's diary, contains plenty of detailed information and merits publication.

¹¹ R. Gard (ed.), *The Observant Traveller* (1989). Bristol examples include BRO 28048/ J/1–3 diaries of journeys in 1768 of Harford family, and BCL 6495 and 30100, diaries of journeys of Rev. Alexander Catcott 1748–74.

¹² Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 2004). A Bristol example is BRO 6783, accounts and memoranda of Joshua Wharton of Brislington 1733–42.

¹³ A Bristol example is BRO 08158, memorandum book of John White (1711–81).

¹⁴ Bristol examples might include: E.Fawcett and E.Ralph (ed.), 'Peter Mugleworth's Diary 1713–1728', *TBGAS*, 61 (1939), 246–70; Madge Dresser (ed.), *The Diary of Sarah Fox* (Bristol Record Society, 55, 2003). One might also classify Richard Smith's collection of material on Bristol's medical community in this category: see Bristol Infirmary Biographical Memoirs (14 volumes) in BRO. I have analysed annals-keeping in Bristol in 'Provincial town culture 1640–1780: urbane or civic?' in Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear, eds., *Interpretation and Cultural History* (Basingstoke, 1991), pp. 198–234 and 'Chatterton in Bristol', *Angelaki*, 1:2 (1994), 55–83.

a note of his birth and his family's major events, since 'I don't appear to have kept any regular diary' until 1750 'and then an imperfect diary until July 1751', which is when detailed entries commence.

Dyer's idea of a 'regular' and 'perfect' diary, as reflected in the volume for 1762, actually comes very close to what we today expect a diary to be (and hence easily take for granted in earlier periods), namely a record of the events of the day, recorded each day as they happened (unlike that most famous early 'diary', Samuel Pepys's, which was actually composed at weekly or so intervals, using notes made during the interval, but put into a daily form). Although Dyer occasionally adds a note retrospectively at the bottom of an entry, almost every day's account was clearly written in the evening after he got home: the only exceptions are a couple of times when two days are covered at once, either because he was away the first night (in Gloucester) or because so little of interest had happened on the first day (a Sunday, usually his briefest entry of the week, and sometimes noted as 'nothing material to record'). Only once does he compile an entry at another time of day, namely on 28 November when, returning from a Lamb Inn experience which he wishes to record, he notes 'Morning – just now (p 9 o'clock) visited Mrs Giles* ...'. If he is informed of events which relate to a particular day after that date, he makes his source clear and then includes the information under the day on which he learned about them (this is true of many of his Lamb Inn entries, based on information from Durbin or Eaton): the only exception is 30 August when, discussing the death of Mrs Morrish*, he adds to that day's entry 'and Tuesday ye 31st Rachell told me', which must have been at their meeting at 7 p.m. the next day (perhaps because a convenient gap was left at the bottom of the page covering 30 August which allowed him to add this passage, whereas normally he would have started the next day's item and so filled up the rest of the page). So, in reading Dyer's diary for 1762 we have the experience of a man immediately describing what has happened to him in the preceding twenty-four hours. Whilst all diaries are still, to some extent, retrospective, unless recorded minute by minute, at least Dyer's avoids many of the issues of hindsight which can be found even in texts like Pepys' as he records each day without knowing what will happen the next.

Frustratingly, Dyer gives no sense of the setting in which he composed the diary, though it is tempting to imagine it being in the 'little room' where he records reading in 1760, and perhaps using the 'new desk and bookcase' on which he spent £7 on 23 April 1758 (a rare reference to spending). This is because his diary contains almost no information about what happened each day between the time he returned home and when he rises in the morning, or what he does while he is at home. The only exceptions are when they have visitors (see below) or if his sleep is disturbed (by a noisy neighbour or bad dreams) and he records getting up in the night, sometimes to write a letter. Apart from illnesses to his wife Ann* or brother Sam* (who lived with them), no detail of home life is recorded, and their servant is not even mentioned, let alone named.

If we take account of Dyer's social position and of the nature of his diary as a daily record, the closest parallel in published diaries for the period is the Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner (whose diary, published in abridged form only, covers 1754–65).¹⁵

¹⁵ David Vaisey (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754–1765* (Oxford, 1984), analysed in Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2001).

Once again, however, differences are as striking as similarities, underlining the protean character of the diary form. Turner lived in a small community and was at its very heart, while Dyer (though caught up in many of the central features of Bristol's trade and religious life) remained a private and minor figure in England's second city. Turner was also a very different sort of man, writing a very different diary. Turner loved social and business activity (while reflecting at length on his shortcomings in both, notably his drunkenness) and penned memorable descriptions of the characters he dealt with, speculating on how they might view his own behaviour. Dyer, by contrast, offers very little by way of running commentary on himself or others, though he will sometimes begin or end his daily entry with a remark about his state of mind (most often a petition to God for mercy or help in relation to his weaknesses or sins, although it is hard to detect what these might be – they certainly did not include drunkenness!). Turner's diary summarises his day's activities rather than charting his hourly movements, while Dyer normally offers a terse and roughly timed summary of his movements through the day and the people he has met or business he has done. Only in the case of the Lamb Inn affair (and one discussion with Rachel Tucker) does he offer any detailed summary of events or conversation. He did so then both because of the religious significance they had for him and because he and his friends felt a need to record in detail exactly what was happening at the Lamb Inn, to justify their belief in the reality of the events against sceptics who considered it a fraud and derided their credulity (see below).

Whereas Turner writes at length about his feelings for his wife (before and after her death), Dyer's relationship with 'AD' (his abbreviation for his wife) is largely a mystery, eloquent more for its silences than its words. On 15 October he records that he visited two or three people 'with design of spending an hour but was disappointed in each therefore came home and endeavour'd to enjoy the best of friends in silence and repose. Lord help me totally to surrender soul and body unto thee'. It is not clear if the 'best of friends' is his wife or God, and although Dyer occasionally mentions finding 'retirement very sweet' at home (18 July), it clearly required some 'endeavour' for him to enjoy it. Indeed, his diary shows him as a man constantly leaving his home (and his office, see below) to visit his relatives, friends and patients. It is the intricate patterns of such visits and movements during each day which Dyer's diary captures most effectively, and which surely captures something about the diarist as well, as I shall show in the rest of this introduction.

The diarist

William Dyer was born on 4 April 1730, about a year after the marriage of his parents Thomas(?) Dyer* (1702–1780) and Hannah (*née* Fuller)* (c.1706–1769), both from Gloucestershire families.¹⁶ Until 1748 his father worked in the Bristol excise, where he became friends with Robert Davis senior* (d. 1765), another Gloucestershire-born excise officer, whose daughter Ann (born in 1726) Dyer would marry on 23 December 1750. Having attended various commercial schools in Bristol, at fourteen Dyer was

¹⁶ Fuller biographical details of all his relatives, friends and main business connections are given in the biographies at the end of this volume.

apprenticed to the apothecary George Smith in Corn Street on 5 November 1744, but he left the apprenticeship the following April, starting instead as a junior clerk at the malt distillery at Castle Gate of the Quaker Robert Dinham*, where he learned the ‘rudiments of business’: his second brother John (c. 1733–1764) also became a clerk there and married one of Dinham’s servants. William stayed there until his marriage (aged only 20), timed to coincide with his new position as clerk (day-to-day manager as well as accountant) to the Littleton gunpowder works started in 1749 by a partnership including Jeremiah Ames*, William Miller* and Isaac Elton*, three of Bristol’s leading merchants.

William was the eldest of six brothers born between 1730 and 1747, all of whom became clerks to various Bristol traders, including Miller and the Meyler family*. His brothers Robert* (c. 1742–1794) and Samuel (1747–1809), lived with William and his wife until they were working: Robert joined William as his assistant at the gunpowder office, while Samuel became a leather currier. John, who inherited a family tendency to consumption and was often ill, set up a grocery shop in 1759, but went bankrupt in 1762, and died in January 1764. James* (c. 1737–1786) and then George* (b. 1744) moved to London, where they became partners, probably as sugarbrokers, for several decades: James never returned to Bristol before his death in a lunatic asylum, and George not until 1794, after a period in the Low Countries. Meanwhile William’s father, who was dismissed from the excise in 1748, never established an alternative career and was regularly in debt. His parents ended up living with his brother Robert from 1758 (when he left William’s house to set up house with them) until their deaths, the father staying even after Robert married in 1775. Although the London brothers appear to have been reasonably prosperous for much of their lives, and Robert eventually also prospered, William regarded himself as largely responsible for the fortunes of his younger brothers in Bristol, and for his parents.

William’s marriage to Ann Davis brought him no children, but Ann had two siblings. Her older sister Hannah* (1725–91) married the carver Samuel Hopkins* (1729–1801) in 1751, but they moved to London in 1766. Her younger brother Robert Davis junior* (d. 1780) seems to have worked in London and Hampshire all of his life until returning to work in a shop in Bristol in the mid-1770s, dying in poverty. In 1773, after her brother remarried a widow with children, William and Ann adopted their niece, Kitty (1756–95) and she lived with them until her death aged 38. Ann Dyer was frequently ill throughout her life, and had Sam living with them from 1752 (aged 5) until 1764, and Robert from 1755 (aged 13) to 1758, supported by a single servant (from January 1757). In 1757 his father went to a ‘urine doctor’ near Devizes for ‘a remedy for my wife’, and in 1760 ‘her speech failed for a short space. It seemed to be a species of the paralitick affection’. Dyer records several illnesses of hers in 1762. It was only in 1772, however, that he notes that his ‘poor wife on account of ill health and restlessness lay in a separate bed and room’. In 1794 he described her heart problems and fears of death, but in fact she outlived him. Moreover, she appears to have been active in attending religious meetings (especially at the Methodist New Room) and in visiting a circle of pious friends she shared with William, and receiving them at her house (see below). Occasionally he also took her riding into the countryside in the morning, mostly on holidays.

In December 1751 Jeremiah Ames took an office for the powder works above the Exchange Coffeeshouse and Dyer worked there until 1767. Ames was his main employer, and in the 1750s he regularly managed Ames’s other shop accounts; he

also did work keeping accounts and posting ledgers for other clients, having 'leisure time' and to supplement his main salary, which rose from £40 to £50 in February 1752. In July 1756, following a fire at the Littleton works in Somerset, and objections to their storage of powder at Tower Harratz in Temple parish, the Littleton powder company merged with the other Bristol powder company, which manufactured at Woolley near Bath. This company was headed by Isaac Baugh*, with William Wansey* and Thomas Deane* as partners; Matthew Worgan* managed the operation there (so, although Dyer produced accounts for both mills, he only oversaw the Littleton production, not that at Woolley, which he never visits in 1762). The merger was mutually beneficial, because the Woolley company had an excellent magazine for the powder with a good landing site at Fulligrove near Shirehampton on the north side of the Avon and strong links with Bristol shopkeepers, while the Littleton proprietors were much better connected with the merchants who bought gunpowder for the Africa and other trades. Dyer noted that 'I look upon this union as entirely providential and particularly in my favour', because 'without my seeking' the joint company agreed to appoint him as 'their sole agent and clerk' and discharge the other clerks. He was now paid £60 p.a. for the 'United' concern, £20 extra for superintending the Littleton operation, and £20 for his brother Robert as an assistant. He had to meet the 'committee' of the united companies fortnightly on Tuesday evenings to report on business; the annual accounts were still presented as two sets of accounts with different dividends.

The only disadvantage was that he was required to move into a gloomy house in Redcliff Street, to keep an eye on the powder stored in nearby stables to serve the Bristol shops. When they were able to use Tower Harratz again for this storage, Dyer moved in February 1758 into the house in Great Garden (close to the tower) where he was living in 1762. Despite his extended role, he was still keeping other accounts (for example those of Henry Allen* for £30 p.a.). Most notably in 1760 he 'modelled and superintended' the accounts of a new brewery venture by Isaac Elton, at the 'Brewhouse' in the Old Market, whose clerk was Charles Brown*, brother of William's good friend the Rev. James Brown. His 1762 diary shows him visiting the Brewhouse on 59 days, mostly for brief visits first thing in the morning, after dinner or in the evening. He also did some trading in goods with relatives and friends, though these ventures never seemed to prosper and he clearly got little satisfaction from importing a cargo of rum from Jamaica, over whose division he squabbled with his former friend John Rowand*. On 25 July 1761 he noted that 'merchandizing is not my province, having hitherto been a loser by adventuring', and in revising his diary in 1801 added that he had 'since then made several attempts without success. Happy if I & every man did but consider and understand the leadings of providence and thereby abide.'

William seems to have pleased his employers, who gave him a £21 bonus in both 1761 and 1762 after the annual accounts were reported. In 1763 he reports offers both to become cashier at a new bank, and to work for a new powder works run by Moses Slade, whose lead smelting accounts he had kept previously. His current employers persuaded him to stay by giving him an eighth share in the Littleton works from October 1763, and following this co-partnership he recorded on 1 September 1764 that 'I had acquired and now possess'd £50 clear of the world, a great sum for me at this time!' However, the management of the Littleton works had always been a trial, requiring weekly visits by Dyer (usually on Friday mornings) and frequent disputes

with the workforce. In 1765 Dyer's good friend the pietist accountant Stephen Penny* took on the management of the Littleton site, but proved entirely unsuitable and quit in 1767, at which point William himself was persuaded to move house there to superintend it himself. This proved very disagreeable, and by May 1768 Dyer had given his notice to leave the gunpowder office altogether, and to be bought out of his share in the partnership. His brother Robert took over as clerk/manager and William was left unemployed; he noted in retrospect that the 'world' thought this an 'unwise sacrifice' but 'God by his good providence has then most amply repaid it'.

The family now lived in Carolina Court, off Gay Street. Dyer turned down offers to run a dry salting business in Wine Street, as he did not want himself and his wife 'always hurried by shop business'; he also notes in 1770 how much 'leisure time' he had. At the end of 1770 he was persuaded by Isaac Elton to take a half-share with him in a new colour works to be erected in the Great Garden, specialising in making 'Spanish brown' paint. He noted in 1801 that he did this because 'I was out of employ and much wanted to be in business' but this 'proved an unfortunate undertaking'. He moved house to Redcliffe Hill, but it was not until November 1772 that the colour works were in operation. By August 1773 it was clear that they were not going to be profitable, and Elton wanted to quit, but the operation seems to have continued. In 1784 he bought Elton's halfshare for £200, though he later thought he should have sold his half-share to Elton instead; eventually he sold the colour house to Mark Harford for £450 in 1791, which allowed him to move from Redcliffe Hill to 3, Paul Street on St Michael's Hill.

By then Dyer's fortunes had taken a great turn. In early 1774 he notes that 'at this season I was out of employ and of course had many distressing thoughts'. He even advertised for work in a London paper, but refused offers of work abroad or in London. Later that year he took on the role of 'referee' in a disputed case, and this began his new career as a freelance accountant specialising in unravelling complex and disputed cases, in modern parlance an insolvency practitioner. One case brought him £100 for three month's work, while in early 1778 he took an office in Small Street for a year while he dealt with the bankruptcy of Thomas Franks, noting that his accounts contained 'in effect a history of his whole life at least from his commencing trade down to his bankruptcy'. Draft expense claims from this period (preserved at the back of the first volume of his epitomised diary) show him acting as accountant for various people at a charge of 10s 6d per day and expenses (plus 5s for any assistant he used). Finally in May 1781 he took on the case which was to change the whole course of his life, when he was given 'power of attorney' to deal with the estate of William Miller, who had died in January that year leaving £190,000, the largest estate by far recorded in a list of major Bristol legatees published in 1784. This massively complex case, much of it involving property in Gloucestershire, was to engage Dyer for many years, and bring him considerable affluence. In 1787, for example, two parties in Miller's affairs each gave him £500 for his work 'as an extraordinary reward' without his seeking. In June 1789 he felt able to refuse an offer to become cashier of the Small Street bank, with a shareholding of four of the thirty shares, each worth £1000, because he did not want the 'bondage' of 'constant attendance and residence', even though only 2-3 hours a day were required. He had begun dealing in property, renting houses out in Castle Street (three houses, one of which he sold for £480 in 1794) and elsewhere, and in 1791 bought his Paul Street house for £600. In 1796 George Miller told Dyer that his agency fee of £65 p.a. for continuing to oversee

William Miller's estate business was too low, and in effect made him a present of £400 by allowing him to buy two houses in Berkeley Crescent for £800 rather than £1200. The larger of these houses, no 1, became his new residence in June 1796, while he rented out the other for £35 p.a. and the Paul Street house for £40 p.a.

When he made his will in 1797 (it was proved on 11 December 1801)¹⁷, its provisions indicate a man of considerable affluence. In addition to his house in Berkeley Crescent (where his wife could remain for life or receive £40 p.a. instead), 2 tenements in Paul Street and several tenancies, he granted immediate legacies of about £1150 and, more significantly, annuities totalling about £580 per annum, plus a further £7500 of legacies to his nephews and nieces following his wife's death, once they reached marriage or 21 years of age. His 'beloved wife' Ann received the bulk of the annuities (£360 per annum), and he expected her to make her own will so that she could bequeath any savings she made from this income, plus her residual share in his estate, largely to his brother Samuel and his wife and two daughters, who also received the most generous treatment in his other bequests. He left £100 to the Bristol Infirmary and 8 shillings weekly for 5 years to the House of Mercy almshouse on Colston Parade and also 4 shillings weekly and £7 10s p.a. to Rachel Tucker spinster 'an aged person well known to my family' for her life (in fact she died in 1799 before William). A 'Widow Rees' was to be allowed to remain living rent free for 5 years in one of his Paul Street houses, and two other deserving people to live rent free in the other, as he had been allowing since 1797 (in 1801 a Moravian minister and his wife were living there).

Work

Looking back from his affluent retirement in 1801, Dyer must himself have been struck by the contrast with his position in 1762. On 2 March he feared he might be 'turned off' along with the Littleton workforce, and 19 March 1762 he wrote 'our magazine at Littleton is nearly full & in all probability the works must soon stand still – Every thing at present wears a gloomy aspect! My poor Bro^r Jn^o in a bad state of health & his tempor^a affairs in equally as bad condition. My poor parents unable to provide for themselves – Bro^r Sam unprovided for & probably I may soon loose my employ.' To understand what underlay these fears, we need briefly to consider the gunpowder business, whose main features have been uncovered by Brenda Buchanan.¹⁸

¹⁷ TNA, Prob 11/1366. Like all the other wills mentioned in the notes and biographies here (unless specified otherwise), this was proved centrally at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, not in the local diocesan courts.

¹⁸ I have drawn heavily on B.J. Buchanan and M. Tucker, 'The manufacture of gunpowder: a study of the documentary and physical evidence relating to the Woolley Powder Works near Bath', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 5:3 (1981), 185–202; B.J. Buchanan, 'Africa trade and Bristol gunpowder merchants', *TBGAS*, 118 (2000), 133–56 and Jenny West, *Gunpowder, Government and War in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Royal Historical Society, 1991). Other relevant studies include: G. Crocker (ed.), *Gunpowder Mills Gazetteer* (SPAB, occasional publications 2, 1988); B.J. Buchanan, 'Technology of gunpowder making in the eighteenth century: the evidence from the Bristol region', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 67 (1996), 125–60; B.J. Buchanan, 'Meeting standards: Bristol powdermaking in the eighteenth century' in B.J. Buchanan (ed.), *Gunpowder* (Bath, 1996), pp. 237–52; A.G. Crocker (ed.), *Gunpowder Mills* (Surrey Record Society, 36, 2000); W.D. Cocroft, *Dangerous Energy* (2000); B.J. Buchanan, 'Bath's forgotten gunpowder history: powder mills at Woolley in the eighteenth century', *Bath History*, 10 (2005), 72–96.

(She relied on the Strachey family archives, however, and appears unaware of the Dyer material, which complements her account.) Unlike the gunpowder mills near London, which catered largely to government needs for strong powder of reliable quality for military use, the Bristol companies catered to the needs of shopkeepers, mining enterprises and, most importantly, overseas traders, both to supply their own weapons on ships (for slaving and against privateers) and for export of arms and ammunition to Africa and the colonies. They not only supplied Bristol traders but also those of her great rival Liverpool, which was rapidly outstripping Bristol (especially in the slave trade) from the 1740s. As Buchanan shows, the Bristol mills adopted new technologies to supply these needs, transferring production methods from other industries (Bristol was at the forefront of technology in glass, metals and pottery production), and provided powders of varying strengths for different markets. They also lobbied tirelessly in London to try to ensure that their interests were not neglected in favour of those of London, and especially of the Ordnance Office's insatiable desire, in wartime, to monopolise production. In 1756 Liverpool and Bristol merchants had both managed to obtain legislation exempting them from the need to get licenses for shipping gunpowder if it was directly for the use of their own ships in the Atlantic trades, but the company still had to get individual licenses for supplying other overseas traders or meeting the needs of home consumers such as mines, and this proved a constant problem.

By 1762 the Bristol companies faced a number of difficulties. Their market in Liverpool had been hit when, in 1759, the Liverpool merchants opened their own gunpowder mills at Thelwall in Cheshire, and because of problems during wartime in shipping powder round to Liverpool. One of the key decisions they made in April 1762 was to send two waggons of powder overland to Liverpool instead, and this experiment was repeated in June. This decision was only made after the demand for gunpowder locally had fallen to such a level that they had over 2000 barrels in stock, including 'upwards of 1700 barrels' stockpiled at Fulligrove magazine (5 March) and Dyer noted he had 'little business at present' (10 March) and 'no business to do in ye powder way' at the office (7 April). They decided to 'stop the mills working' and cancel their charcoal supplies, laying the Littleton workmen off (with 2s a week retainer 'while unemployed ... they will be expected to come to work again whenever we may have occasion'); as a result Dyer stopped his weekly inspection trips to Littleton between 16 April and 18 June.

The firm also sought to supply the government as well, for which it needed to improve the strength and reliability of its powder. With Henry Strachey junior* in London lobbying key officials (notably the army chief, Lord Ligonier, who was M.P. for Bath), the 'Board Ordnance', as Dyer calls it, agreed in late 1761 to proposals to produce 500 barrels by 1 January at £4 7s a barrel and then 500 more within 2 months, and sent down samples of powder of the right strength and the proper barrels. As part of this process, Dyer was involved in efforts to find the 'dogwood' (alder) charcoal needed for the stronger powder. But all the powders sent back to the Tower for testing failed to meet the standards and they never supplied the government. He also notes various ideas to send him into the 'North' or down to Cornwall, probably as they sought to get round the difficulties of supplying the mines. However, although Dyer never states this, it seems that the crisis must have eased, as the Littleton works began to operate again; when Dyer prepared the annual accounts on 30 October he noted, 'the gentlemen seem greatly pleased at this years profits'.

Crises apart, however, the regular operation of the gunpowder company involved him in a complex range of activity. Apart from his weekly trips by horse to Littleton, he made regular inspection visits to the main riverside magazine at Fulligrove and the secondary one at Hungroad. His house in Great Garden was (intentionally) close to the town store of gunpowder in Tower Harratz, and Dyer was regularly woken early in the morning by waggoners needing the key (perhaps they were required to deliver such a dangerous cargo early before the streets were busy). In addition to the powder itself, the tower also stored the ingredients, (salt)petre and brimstone (sulphur), which were imported direct into Bristol but also transported overland from London. Dyer's brother James helped to organise the London supplies, and Dyer also tried to get at least some of the carriage business into the hands of his friends the Giles* family at the Lamb Inn, but they were regularly undercut by their rival William James.* Dyer found it very hard to do business with James (who he believed was paying a witch to afflict the Giles family), and criticised Ames for accepting James's lower tender: 'the selfishness and cunning of worldly men seems more and more manifested every day'.

Dyer also found other aspects of the work unpleasant. He did not like dealing with awkward people like the cooper Benjamin Ramzor*, whose working practices at Fulligrove left much to be desired. He was required by his employers to go 'on the dunn', that is to dun (or importune) customers to pay their debts to the company, and he clearly had sympathy with those (like his brother John or the cooper Searle) who failed in business, even if he had to act to protect his company's interests (for example giving Ames advance warning of John's problems so they could use a note of money owed to him to secure the money he owed the firm). He records wearily a number of disputes with merchants, ship's captains or shopkeepers about their cargos or bills. As already noted, Dyer was not a born trader, valuing neither the taking of risk nor the monetary reward: as he noted disdainfully after giving Thomas Deane his dividend: 'it is meat and drink to some people to get money'.

The other side of Dyer's job was his work as clerk and accountant, writing letters and keeping and casting up the accounts, and this is presumably how he spent most of his time in his office, and at the Brewhouse. In later life it was his technical skills, hard work and trustworthiness in carrying out accountancy work on bankruptcies and probate estates which was to bring him prosperity, and one is tempted to suppose that Dyer took much more pleasure in this aspect than the 'managerial' side. However, there is little evidence in the diary to confirm this. In early November he does consult his friends Penny (another accountant) and Eaton (a teacher of writing and accounts) when 'I find myself puzzled about settling the profits of last year in the just proportion to each company', but otherwise he is largely silent about the accountancy work he does. The only exception is when he had a prolonged battle to balance the Brewhouse accounts between 3 and 17 February, ending finally 'notwithstanding ye most diligent search I cannot discover ye error of 4/7 & therefore I forced the ballances & this aftern^o quite closed the years acco^s hav^g had fatigue enough in searching for ye said error.' It even seems that he thought the Devil might be responsible for this problem, asking the evil spirit in the Lamb Inn case on 11 February 'Is your old friend who lives at ye Brewh^o in ye Old Mark^t in compact w^h ye Devil'!

¹⁹ Although there is a substantial and growing literature about the nature and role of account-keeping in early modern capitalism, and on the teaching of accounts, there is no study of what accountants and clerks

Indeed, there is little evidence that Dyer took pleasure in his work at all, nor that his working practices were necessarily those we would associate with a professional accountant.¹⁹ Although he spent part of most working days in his office (sometimes going there two or three times in a day), he spent more of his time out of it, even during the working day. In part this was because he had to visit businesses, or attend the Customs House (40 times, sometimes specified as dealing with bonds and debentures) or the 'Change' (29 times, often to consult his employers, without whom he could not make significant decisions). But it was also because he rarely did more than four hours work, often much less, at the office without breaking either to go home for dinner, or to go visiting. We will consider next what the diary shows us about the timing of Bristol life, but it is clear that, rather than working fixed hours, Dyer led a 'task-oriented' day in which he felt completely at liberty to organise his own time and only put in the hours at work he judged they required. Even when in his office he was sometimes reading or writing about things associated with religion or the Lamb Inn case, not working for his company.

Social life: time, place and people

As noted, a distinctive features of Dyer's diary is that (on most days) he gives a clear timetable of what he did, when and where.²⁰ He divides up the day in two ways. The first is in terms of morning (or forenoon), noon, afternoon, evening, night, and before or after dinner (taken between 2 and 4). There are no references to going to bed or when this happens, though he is usually home between 8 and 10, and when the Lamb Inn affair keeps him out after 11 on 9 January he notes next day that it 'has occasion'd my keeping late hours sometime past and has put me much out of course'. He refers once to being woken in the 'forenight'. He describes that he 'rose' or arose' in the morning each day – one day he rises late and then refers to coming down stairs. Generally he notes being roused early if he is awoken before 6 and of staying in bed late if he rises after 8. December-February he most often rises between 7 and 8, while in the summer months it is between 5 and 6; he appears to rise a bit later on Sunday, although normally he does not give hourly timings on Sundays. He sometimes 'breakfasts' (only noted if he has it away from home, normally before 9 or at latest 10) or 'drinks tea' (between 4 and 6, perhaps 7) or occasionally 'supps', but he does not use breakfast, tea or supper as a means to divide up the day.

The second measure is by the clock. In almost all cases Dyer measures by the whole hour (often qualified as 'before', 'about', or, most common of all, 'past'). However on 85 occasions he refers to 'half past' or to a duration of 'half an hour'; on one

actually did. A few remarks can be found in Derek Matthews, Malcolm Anderson and John Richard Edwards, *The Priesthood of Industry* (Oxford, 1998), including some references to Bristol firms around 1800, but no sense is given of the scale of the occupation. Yet, *Sketchley's Bristol Directory* (Bristol, 1775) already lists 30 accountants and 43 bookkeepers, while *Matthew's New Bristol Directory for the Year 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794) has 129 accountants, though now only 2 book-keepers: many more clerks within companies and customs officials would have been doing similar work.

²⁰ On diaries and time-keeping see Sherman, *Telling Time* and P. Glennie and N. Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford, 2009), which considers Bristol in detail in chapter 4, drawing on my own research and that of Mark Harrison in 'The ordering of the environment: time, work and the occurrence of crowds 1790-1835', *Past and Present*, 110 (1986), 134-68.

occasion he refers to 'three-quarters past' the hour (when at home) and on two occasions he refers to periods of a quarter of an hour duration. There are no references to any other periods of minutes, except one reference to 'half a minute'. This could be consistent with him having only a clock (which we know he had from 1758) at home, and then relying on public clocks to check time otherwise, or perhaps a cheaper watch which only marked the hours. His epitomised diary mentions his gold watch in 1797, but nothing earlier.

He records the days of the week, and also adds references to Bristol fair days (25 January and 26 July, both normal working Mondays), a national fast day and religious holidays (he does not work on Good Friday, Easter Monday, Whit Monday, Christmas Day or the Monday following it, Boxing Day being Sunday in 1762). He celebrates the anniversary of his wedding day (according to the pre-1752 calendar) and has friends for the evening on New Year's Eve. Otherwise his daily routine is only distinctively different on Sundays, when he very rarely records anything work-connected, and normally attends church at least twice and stays at home in the evening (see below on his religious observance). The only other fixed points in his week are his normal Friday morning trip to Littleton, the fortnightly meetings of the gunpowder committee on Tuesday evenings, and his brief attendance at the evening meetings of his friendly society, the Helpful Society, the first Wednesday of each month.

Beyond this, the chief characteristic of his days is that there is no typical pattern of activity, but rather a kalaeidoscopic succession of movements, as Dyer goes from home to 'town' (across the river), and visits numerous people, for work and pleasure, often one after another, before normally ending up at the 'office &c' or 'Change &c' until 2 p.m., then returning home for dinner, then back to the same mixture of office and visits, sometimes punctuated by another return home and to the office again, before a final round of evening activity and then home. In addition to calling on people, he also liked to go for walks, occasionally alone, but most often with his pious friends, Eaton, Penny, and the clergymen Richard Symes* and (once) Brown, sometimes just around town, but also out into the countryside. Although maintaining his mare, Hobby, was one of his constant trials (he shared the expense with his friend James Brown, but often they wanted her at the same time, or she was not fit), he also rode frequently, not merely on business to rural sites, but also on occasion for pleasure with his wife, although he notes unpleasant winds on one occasion, and being fatigued by long journeys on others.

Often he merely records visiting people, but sometimes he is more specific. On 71 occasions he 'drinks tea' with people, mostly women (his mother, sister-in-law Hannah, Rachel, and the wives of his friends William Hopkins*, Thomas Allison*, Mr Green* and William Morrish*, the husbands sometimes also being there), but also Rev. and Mrs Symes, Brown, Penny and Eaton, plus his brother John twice and his father once. He has breakfast ten times (six with his mother, and once each with Symes, Penny, Eaton and Hopkins) and dinner 8 times (six with Symes, and once each with Abraham Hawsworth* and Hopkins). He visits Symes (3 times) and Penny (twice) for the afternoon, but more frequently (23 times) goes out for the evening (17 times to Symes, three to Penny, two to Hawsworth and once to Henry Durbin). He also records visits to his own house (and many other visits to his wife may go unrecorded by him). Apart from people coming to be treated with electricity (see below) and a few unspecified visits by Eaton, he records 54 visits, 16 for tea, 9 for dinner and 4 for breakfast (Brown, Eaton and Rev. Badderly* twice), together with 2

all-day visits by his mother and his sister-in-law, 2 morning visits by Mrs Symes, 6 afternoon visits and 15 evenings. On this basis, he visited others considerably more than he was visited, but he still records more than one visit to his house per week.

Who did he visit? Not surprisingly, his family figures heavily, with 106 visits to his brother John (mostly during his illness and troubles during the first half of the year), 76 to his parents (mostly his mother is specified, and most often during her illness in November/December), 48 to his parents-in-law (more often the mother is specified, but it depends which is ill, as this is mostly why he visits) and his sister-in-law Hopkins. He rarely eats with any of them, however, except tea with his mother (14 times) and sister-in-law (10) and breakfast with his mother (6), spending the evening with his brother John only on the night when his brother James was down from London. His most regular other visits were to Rachel Tucker, whom he saw 87 times, quite apart from the 8 weeks she spent staying with the Dyers upto 18 July (she also spent three periods of the year with Henry Davis's* family, and one at the Allisons); occasionally he had tea with her. His wife Ann sometimes joined him on these visits to family and Rachel. There are far fewer references to his family visiting his house, and his brother John (with his unsuitable wife) never visited.

The great bulk of his other visits are to his religious friends, Rev. and Mrs Symes (80 in all, including to her alone when he is away, and 9 times with Ann Dyer as well), Stephen Penny and his sister (51 times, and only once with Ann, when Miss Penny is also named), George Eaton (48 times), Rev. James Brown (41 times) and Mr and Mrs Allison (29 times). The only other person visited more than ten times is his medical collaborator Capt. Francis Cheyne* (see below) with 15 visits; interestingly he only visits Henry Durbin six times, all before 1 June. The other people seen more than 4 times are his neighbours in Great Garden the Marstons* and the Greens, the Cox sisters*, Mr and Mrs Morrish in Temple Street, and John Dyer's friend Henry Sweeting*, whom he consults during John's troubles in the spring. By and large the same people make up the non-family visitors to his house as well, though the Pennys only visit once and Cheyne, Durbin and Sweeting never. The other little group of visitors to their home are some Wesleyan activists, such as Badderly, various named preachers (including John Nelson), the bookseller Norton and the teacher Southcote* (all of whom may well have been invited by Ann Dyer, rather than William) and some pious women such as Mrs Hopkins and Mrs Pope.

We can also use Dyer's diary, following Naomi Tadmor's analysis of Turner's diary²¹, to study the words Dyer used to describe his social relationships. Like Turner, Dyer extended 'family terms' to his wife's relations, calling his parents-in-law Mother and Father Davis, and his sister-in-law and her husband Sister and Brother Hopkins. He could not normally bring himself even to name his brother John's wife, though she appears as Sister Dyer on 29 May (perhaps sarcastically) and as 'poor Sister Dyer' on 24 October: in the epitome she is distinguished from other Dyer wives as 'Sister John'. His adult brothers are always called 'Brother John/James/George', while the near-adult Robert is sometimes Brother but normally just Robert, and 15-year old Samuel is always simply 'Sam'; John and Robert are sometimes abbreviated as JD or RD (and by 1777 Sam was SD). His parents are simply 'father' and 'mother'.

In referring to non-relatives, he generally uses Mr, Mrs, Miss or Messrs for all his social equals and superiors, without a qualifying first name unless he needs to distinguish

²¹ Tadmor, *Family and Friends*.

between people (he also uses senior/old/elder or junior/young/the younger to distinguish generations). Otherwise, people who are called by their first name and surname are normally his social inferiors, such as the Littleton workmen, the journeyman smith George Barnes*, or Molly Davis, a washerwoman. The clergymen are also normally called Mr, though sometimes 'Rev.' or 'Parson'; other titles used are Captain, Major, Alderman and 'the Mayor', while the Gloucestershire J.P. normally called Mr Haynes* once appears as 'esquire Haynes'. He usually uses surnames alone (e.g. Rocks, Palmers*) in the case of businesses or shops, but a few people whom he visits or mentions with whom his relationship seems part business, part friendship, or whose social position in relation to his own is unclear, are sometimes called Mr and sometimes merely by a surname (e.g. Sweeting, Ramzor, Rowand, Faulke*, Britton*, Searle, James). The only non-relatives called simply by first names are children (often given a diminutive, like Doppey and Polley Giles or even 'Master Dickey' Symes) and servants, such as his helper Giles (sometimes Giles Gillard) or Mr Baugh's 'footman John'. A few people are given occupational designations, such as Nurse Cooke or Farmer Worm. His other naming habit is to label people as 'poor', which he does constantly, but this is not so much a social descriptor as a sign of Dyer's (extensive) sympathy for anyone he feels is in trouble, whether it be medical, financial, religious or psychological.

Dyer rarely uses the term 'friend', but when he does he confirms Tadmor's claim that the language of 'friendship' in this period included relatives – one of his rare references to visiting 'some of my friends' involves seeing his mother, mother-in-law and sister-in-law as well as Mrs Giles from the Lamb Inn and Rachel Tucker. Dyer certainly saw women as potential friends, calling Rachel 'our dear friend' on 19 July and using the same phrase as almost a pseudonym for Rebecca Scudamore*, who Dyer and his wife regarded as a spiritual mentor (as they did Rachel). He regularly calls the afflicted Giles children 'my little friends'. But he also describes a select few of the pious males he socialised with as 'my friend', namely Penny (and Miss Penny), Symes, Brown and 'my worthy friend' Hawksworth (though when he also calls him 'friend Hawksworth' this may be because he is a Quaker!). Dyer could also use the term questioningly, referring to Mrs Sprake (who revealed the shortcomings of his brother John's wife's conduct) as her 'friend' in what seems an ironic tone, while also wondering whether Richard Meyler senior, who assisted his relatives the Searles during their bankruptcy, was merely a 'pretended friend'. In general, however, Dyer does not explore social relationships in any depth, and his preferred vocabulary is moral and religious, rather than social or psychological.

Religion

Despite distinguishing Dyer's diary from a spiritual journal, one must acknowledge that religion played a defining role both in Dyer's life, and in the shaping of his diary. More than a hundred of his daily entries contain a petition to God (characteristically in the form 'May ye Lord/Jesus' pardon, or show mercy, or preserve or give strength or help to him, or may he be enabled to follow, be guided or be prepared to do God's will) and the majority of entries have some religious reference. He records the subjects and/or Bible texts of some sermons he has heard (but not many, and with no details), notes some religious reading, and in particular takes note of the religious messages he gets from his two mentors Rachel Tucker and Rebecca Scudamore, who clearly

intensified his constant sense of his unworthiness as a Christian. On one occasion he identified himself with a character in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* who, despite 'talking' the proper Christian language of new birth and redemption, fails to follow his words with deeds. Having heard a discussion in the bookshop on 19 July about some books on King David, he noted 'it seems to me these learned men are only quarrelling about words – 'tis heart experience they want in order to make 'em fit to write or speak properly of David that man of experience', and he contrasts the 'dry insipid conversation' in the bookshop with the feelings he gets from reading the Bible or conversing with Rachel 'that child of God', while four days later he praises a letter from Scudamore in which 'she sings (in imitation of King David ye sweet singer of Israel) of the loving kindness of the Lord'. As we shall see, Dyer was a keen reader of a certain type of theology, namely 'the mystic writers', but one of their characteristics was their emphasis on 'heart experience' as the fundamental of religion, and on the revelatory, rather than rational or learned, nature of the spiritual insights they offered. In his preface to his transcription of Tucker's diary, Dyer notes that she read very little except the Bible, mainly listening for God's messages to her (which consist largely, judging by the diary, of paraphrases of Bible passages, especially the Psalms), and that 'notwithstanding she never read nor conversed with any mystic writer yet her language and experience remarkably corresponds with theirs – manifest proof that she and they both derive instruction from one and the same divine source of light and love'.

However, Dyer was also a regular churchman. He attends the sacrament monthly and on the main religious holidays, either the quarterly communion at St Werburghs, or the first Sunday of the month at St Nicholas (until it closed for rebuilding) or the Cathedral ('College') or, in December, his parish church of Temple, and notes the comfort he derived from participating in this. In his epitomised diary he recalls being confirmed, when about 14, by Bishop Butler whom he thereafter revered as 'my spiritual father' even though he never conversed with him, and that when about 16 or 17 a high church friend who frequented the Cathedral early prayers and sacrament lent him Bishop Simon Patrick's book on the sacrament and persuaded him to talk with one of the clergy who 'advised him to read the communion service and attend ordinance' at his church, St Nicholas, which he began to do the first Sunday of every month 'tho' in a state of ignorance'. He notes of the friend (who moved to London and became a Roman Catholic) that he 'never had any depth of religion' but he was grateful to him as 'the instrument to bring me to use the means of grace'.

Apart from communion services, every Sunday Dyer attended at least one service at St Werburgh's in Corn Street, and on 31 weeks he attended in both morning and afternoon. He also went there for the fast day sermon on 12 March and six occasional sermons on weekday mornings. One Sunday he went to St Nicholas for afternoon service (perhaps because the preacher, Camplin*, had given an excellent sermon at St Werburgh in the morning, but Dyer noted his afternoon discourse was not 'so spiritual'), and he attended one Saturday afternoon sermon there. Seventeen times he attended the Tuesday afternoon 'lecture' (sermon) funded by the Corporation and given by his friend Brown; these were held at St Nicholas until its closure in September and then at St Werburghs, after which Dyer's attendance rate increased (both churches were within a moment's walk of his office at the Exchange). He went to the Mayor's chapel in College Green when Symes preached there on Easter Sunday. All of this suggests that Dyer was a devout Anglican, as indeed he was, but it is worth

noting that (one sacrament apart) he never attended his own parish church of Temple a few hundred yards from his house (nor St Mary Redcliffe, also close).

The likely reason for this was his admiration for the minister at St Werburgh's, the Rev. Richard Symes, who was arguably also his best friend. In his epitomised diary Dyer noted that he took over the parish on 13 October 1754 and his ministry 'proved an eternal blessing to many'; Rebecca Scudamore also made him her spiritual advisor and attended his church, and Symes introduced Dyer to Rachel Tucker. Symes shared Dyer's admiration for the 'mystic writers', notably Jacob Boehme (or Behmen) and his English disciple William Law*, and they were both to find in electricity a proof of Behmenist theories and their application to healing (see below). Dyer was to become an editorial assistant to Symes in the two books which he wrote on the subject. It is therefore tempting to suppose that Symes introduced Dyer to this religious tradition, but Dyer himself credits the Rev. Fowler Comings, a London clergyman (and friend of Symes, preaching the Christmas day sermon for him in 1755), who recommended 'more deep and more spiritual writers, viz. Marsay, Molinos, Mr Law etc. and these entirely took away my relish for systematical divinity, and indeed took away much of the thirst I had before for hearing much of outward teaching, these divine writings pointing and directing to the only true and infallible teacher who is always near and never absent'.

Symes was one of an extensive group of Anglican clergy in mid-eighteenth century Bristol who combined, in varying degrees, a commitment to the 'pietist' and 'evangelical' movements that were sweeping the country (indeed the Atlantic world) at that period.²² Through him Dyer came into contact with Walter Chapman*, Richard Hart*, James Brown, James Rouquet* and others who, though ordained clergymen with regular livings or curacies in the Church of England, cultivated ecumenical alliances with other religious groups whom they saw as sharing in the fundamental truths of Trinitarian Christianity. A major influence on them was the example of the Rev. Samuel Walker* of Truro (about whom Dyer dreamed on 23 April), who corresponded with several of them, and they followed his example in combining parochial service with evangelical preaching and pastoral work outside their parishes, as well as in efforts to revise the parish structure to reach neglected communities, such as the colliers of Kingswood. In doing so, they cooperated with others with a similar evangelical priority, including their fellow Anglican clergymen George Whitefield* and the Wesley brothers, likeminded ministers in dissenting churches, and lay people such as the Countess of Huntingdon and Brown's correspondent Lord Dartmouth, who were the most notable of a sizeable aristocratic party who patronised and financed such work.²³ They could

²² See, for varying perspectives: Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (1989); W.R. Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992); J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor (ed.), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993); J. Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleys* (2002); Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative* (Oxford, 2005); D. Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven and London, 2005); K. Newport and Ted Campbell (ed.), *Charles Wesley* (Peterborough, 2007).

²³ L.E. Elliott-Binns, *The Early Evangelicals* (1953). For Bristol in particular see: A.B. Sackett, *James Rouquet and his Part in Early Methodism* (Wesley Historical Society Publications, 8, 1972); J. Kent (ed.), 'Wesleyan Membership in Bristol 1783' in *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany* (BGAS Publications, Records section, XI, 1976), pp. 105–132; Barry, 'Piety and the Patient'; K. Morgan, *John Wesley and Bristol* (Bristol, 1990); J. Barry, *Methodism and the Press in Bristol 1737–1775* (Wesley Historical Society, Bristol Branch, Bulletin 1xiv, 1992); J. Barry, 'Cultural patronage and the Anglican crisis: Bristol c.1689–1775' in Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (ed.), *Church of England*, pp. 191–208; Barry and Morgan (ed.) *Reformation and Revival*; J. Barry, 'Bristol as a "Reformation City" c. 1640–1780' in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500–1800* (1998), pp. 261–84.

share many beliefs and interests, not just with each other but also with other Trinitarian movements such as the Hutchinsonians, and they had common enemies in what they saw as the prevailing trends of materialism, infidelity and moral decline, and those groups within the clergy whom they saw as bowing to such trends, or adopting a form of 'rational' Anglicanism which seemed little better than deism or the Unitarianism which was spreading in old dissent. Dyer disliked the 'Arian worship' he attended at the Octagon chapel in Liverpool, and never records visiting the increasingly Unitarian Presbyterian meeting houses in Bristol. He also expressed his distaste at Anglican rationalist preaching which 'has not a single word respecting the depravity of human nature and the need of a redeemer and restorer' or of 'divine supernatural assistance in the work of salvation' and commented on Josiah Tucker, rector of St Stephen's Bristol, that while he was 'accomplished in the theory of trade and commerce' and a 'moral character', he was 'very shallow in divinity'. His final recorded remark on religion in his epitomised diary is 'may the Lord in mercy awaken our clergy!'

However, there were also constant tensions and disagreements among those who sought such an awakening. These reflected concerns about separatism from the establishment, and how far ecumenical and evangelical movements could adopt new methods without undermining the legal framework of the Church of England. But they also reflected a tension between the 'pietist' and 'evangelical' aspects of this movement (as well as other tensions over predestination, perfectionism, the relative importance of works and faith and so on), in which attitudes to the 'mystic writers' Dyer and Symes favoured were an important touchstone. Dyer records disagreeing with Brown about this, and it seems likely that Brown, Badderley, Hart and Rouquet (like John Wesley or George Whitefield) attached more importance to evangelical activism in the world, while Symes, Chapman and Dyer laid more stress on the cultivation of individual piety and on quietism and stillness, waiting for God. For all his religiosity, his rigorous self-examination and stress on 'heart experience', Dyer might have struck the evangelicals as someone who did little to follow Christ in preaching the gospel or caring for the poor. I shall suggest below that his medical activities (and his involvement in the Lamb Inn case) actually express Dyer's own version of such activism.

By 1762, Dyer's other religious activity, as we shall see, had reduced itself to attendances at Quaker meetings, Whitefield's preaching whenever he visited Bristol and attendances at the Wesleyan New Room (called simply 'the Room' by Dyer). Yet earlier in his life Dyer had been considerably more eclectic. Prior to his 1755/6 discovery of the 'mystic' writers and Symes' ministry, he had not only attended more Methodist activity, but also the 'religious meeting' or 'assembly' held on Sunday and other evenings in Temple Street by his friend William Morrish senior*, a woolstapler 'where he read and related his own experiences to a room full of men and women, some his neighbours and others from distant parts of the city' and 'generally read a sermon from one of the old puritans'. From 1756 to 1760, Dyer replaced these larger meetings with more intimate Sunday (or Wednesday) evening meetings at his own or a friend's house, the others involved being William Hopkins and his wife, Thomas Allison, Henry Davis, John Rowand and James Ireland. Yet Dyer seems to have gradually moved away religiously from some of these people, and finally he notes in May 1760 that such meetings (now on Sunday morning) were 'discontinued as useless being attended with contention and controversy'. In 1762 he still exchanged visits with Hopkins and Allison but even they had been supplanted by his new lay friends,

Stephen Penny and George Eaton, who both arrived in Bristol in 1760, and whose religious sensibilities may have fitted closer to Dyer's own, and with whom he exchanged visits or went for walks to discuss religion.

Equally, it is clear that Dyer was much less involved with the religious societies of Whitefield and the Wesleys in 1762 than he had been ten years earlier. In 1754 he summarises his Sunday attendances as going to the Room at 5 a.m. ('since soon after my marriage') and then Smith's Hall at 7 a.m., prior to attending two church services and then Morrish in the evening. Earlier diary entries confirm this pattern as having operated since 1751–2. It seems likely that his wife Ann may have introduced him to the Room; in 1753 he records her writing to John Wesley for his sentiments 'relative to dress', and references in 1762 to her attendance at the Room and her entertaining of leading Wesleyans suggest that she was more committed to that Society than Dyer, although she is not listed on their membership list in 1783. Dyer himself confirms in 1763 that, although he quite regularly attended early morning preaching with the Wesleys, he was not a member. In 1762 he records 28 attendances at the Room, two for funeral sermons, thrice to hear early morning sermons by John Wesley, and three times for evening sermons by John Nelson, Howell Harris and Charles Wesley, as well as on Christmas and Boxing Day evenings. He attended a watchnight service with Ann on 27 October. His other attendances were all on weekday evenings, mostly Mondays and Thursdays, usually at 7 p.m., on his way home from work, and all but three of them fell in the second half of the year. As for the Tabernacle, which had replaced Smith's Hall as the meeting room of George Whitefield's society in Bristol, although Dyer attended 15 times in 1762, the great majority of his visits are either explicitly to hear Whitefield himself speak or are during the periods in April/May and November when he was in Bristol, and so were probably to hear him: no other speaker is specified. So it seems that Dyer, while remaining eager to hear the greatest preacher of his age at every opportunity, was merely a 'hearer' not a 'member' of his church (to use the contemporary distinction between those fully involved in a church's life and those who merely attended its preaching).

To explain this, one might turn to Dyer's 1769 preface to Rachel Tucker's diary, where he notes that she 'has frequently been heard to lament being forsaken by some religious people ... meaning those of Mr Westley's Society, with whom she has been connected from almost her first awakenings (upwards of 30 years since) but for reasons best known to themselves they have behaved with great shyness towards her for many years since'. Dyer seems to have regarded with suspicion attempts by John Wesley to demand allegiance to his particular society, noting for example that Rebecca Scudamore had resisted similar tendencies, while criticising his brother-in-law Samuel Hopkins in 1755 for being 'bigotted to Mr Westley's connection'. In his epitomised diary Dyer was consistently hostile to any separatist tendencies in the Wesleyan societies, noting of Thomas Walsh in 1753 that the one failing of this 'extraordinary scripturist' was that he 'assiduously recommended an entire separation from the established church' and later that when the Methodists did separate in the 1790 'they possess'd more of the spirit and life of Christianity before than since this separation'. Yet many Wesleyans, especially in Bristol, shared this view, including Henry Durbin, and Dyer was certainly not wholly averse to John Wesley's perspective, critical though he was whenever he felt Wesley had mistreated Law. In the Methodist split over Calvinism, Dyer would have sided with Wesley against Whitefield. But like Durbin, Dyer's preferred Wesley was Charles, not John, with his poetic evocation of 'the

universal love of God' (a sermon by Charles he picked out for praise in 1764) and his firm rejection of separatism.

As an ecumenical Anglican, however, Dyer was still interested in other religious traditions. In his epitomised diary (but not in 1762), Dyer occasionally records attending services at the Pithay Baptist church, or (after 1762) at the Moravian church. One might have expected Dyer to be attracted to the Moravians, whose stress on 'heart experience' and quietist pietism seems close to his own, but perhaps he was unwilling to commit himself to the intense community life that they demanded in their congregation. In 1789 he heard the Behmenist author Thomas Okley preach twice at their chapel and praised him as a 'spiritual' man', but also noted the 'arbitrary' way in which Moravian men chose their wives (relying on God to show what to choose through lots was a Moravian practice) although in his final years he did allow the Moravian minister to live rent-free in one of his houses.

However, in 1762 Dyer did attend Quaker meetings eight times (staying for several hours), four times on Sunday evenings, three times (on Tuesday and the next Sunday) when they held their annual meeting in Bristol, and once on a Tuesday morning, when he records with approval the preaching by a young woman; he also reads an account of two Quaker women suffering at the hands of the inquisition a century before. Dyer's first job had been for the Quaker Robert Dinham, and many of the Bristol traders he later dealt with were Quakers. Two of his friends in 1762, George Eaton and Abraham Hawsworth, were active Quakers, and his friend Stephen Penny also seems to have been strongly attracted to them, as was the bookseller Thomas Mills, a fellow-Behmenist. Above all, Dyer's younger brother Sam was to be converted in 1764 (aged 17) to Quakerism and become a leading figure in Bristol and a travelling preacher in later life. Perhaps through him Dyer became friends with another preacher, Thomas Rutter, whose death at 59 'sensibly affected my mind', so that Dyer had a paragraph inserted in the *Bristol Journal* praising a friend 'in whom were united the Christian and the man of public utility of whom it may truly be said "a great man is fallen this day in our Israel"'. Yet in both this comment, and his praise of other Quakers, what Dyer stresses is their ecumenism: he says this both about Hawsworth (see biography) and about George Baume, a quaker watchmaker, 'of a catholic and universal spirit, unconfined to any one sect or party'. Baume was also an admirer of William Law, and it was this mystic strain in Quakerism which also seems to have drawn Dyer, as it did his friend Symes (see biography for the perceived closeness of Symes' writings to Quakerism). But when a Quaker friend in 1780 showed Dyer the early Quaker registers for Bristol, Dyer criticised their distinctive dress code, noting that Jesus had conformed to the dress of his day and would now: 'away then with all external singularities – a new heart and a right spirit renewed within us is the one only thing needful'.

How did his religious views shape his diary? It is clear that Dyer viewed his experience as shaped by God's providence, so that every event had a potential religious meaning. Sometimes this is explicit, as on 15 July, when he exclaims 'surely there is a blessed and good providence reigns over me', or when he records that his brother Sam 'very providentially escaped' an eye injury from a schoolfellow. On many other occasions he seeks to recognise and benefit from the providential purpose of what has happened, whether it be good or (more frequently) bad from a worldly perspective. So on 15 May, when his nose bleeds he adds 'probably it may prove serviceable to me', and later the same day, reflecting on the 'epidemical disorder' affecting Bristol (influenza) he concludes that the Lord 'prepares us all for the

dispensation of his divine providence'. When innkeeper Giles dies, he hopes 'may this afflicting providence have a due effect on ye whole family'. For himself, the main purpose of providence seems to be to counter the sinful and worldly 'will' that is part of his nature, and help him to resign his will to God in all matters. In particular, he associates this with dropping his 'own planning or scheming', or 'unprofitable' ways of spending his time: 'whether it be studying books, visiting or conversation: or whatsoever else shew it me and enable me to cast from me whatsoever impedes my entirely devoting my soul my all to thee'. Ironically, therefore, much of the purpose in recording the daily minutiae of life appears to be to convince himself that his actions have been, ultimately, done in a due spirit of resignation to God, and where this is not the case he drops dark, but unexplained hints as to how he has sinned, which is perhaps most explicit on 11 April when he laments his 'deepes of corruption' 'for when in Christian conversation ye lust of concupiscence arises'. Yet an alternative purpose for recording the bustle of daily life appears to be to bring it into perspective and under control. Dyer clearly found many of his transactions outside the home unpleasant and discomforting, and in his diary, as in his religious reading and meetings he attended, he found what he calls 'a blessed means of restoring my mind to composure' (reading Boehme on 8 December). As he puts it on 1 December: 'This has been a day of tryal to me, but ye Lord has brought me through it praised be his holy name.' Rachel Tucker's diary, with its unrelenting account of bodily illness and mental challenges, takes this notion of 'trials and consolation' to an extreme, with numerous entries offering a variant on 'ill in body, but happy' because the trial has brought her to some spiritually uplifting thought.

Dyer's preface describes Tucker's diary as 'living instance of the reality of our invisible adorable God now conversing with and communicating himself to the fallen degenerate children of fallen degenerate Adam', and in his own diary he clearly treasures the messages he receives from her, especially their encounter on 13 August, 'truly a living instance of the power of religion on a sick bed'. However, his diary does not suggest that he often directly felt God speaking to him, except perhaps on 12 July when, during an evening walk, he 'talk'd with him who is invisible'. But he clearly did feel that God was communicating with him during his dreams. He mentions 14 dreams in his diary, most of them either intimations of a friend's death or of a trial he would face in his personal relationships. Dyer sometimes merely identifies these as 'intimations' of forthcoming events which 'complete' or 'fulfill' this dream. But in several cases he identifies the dream as a 'kind notice' from God, enabling him to prepare for forthcoming challenges. (He also reports on 17 August that his sister-in-law had received 'a kind notice' of an illness 'from some invisible attendant by 2 loud raps' and 'had notice before ye death of either of her children' by three raps.) In his epitomised diary he passes over most of these dreams, but he does note that on 28 May: 'an emblem of my pilgrimage on earth was display'd in a dream last night'. During this dream Dyer and his wife find themselves floating between shallow and deep waters on Bristol river, which in his diary he considers 'a real emblem of life but probably it may be design'd as a kind notice of some approaching difficulty. But whatever may be its meaning may the Lord enable me blindly to resign myself to him'.

To our modern eyes, most of his dreams might seem simple expressions of his anxieties about health and relationships, and although Dyer does not offer this particular explanation, in his epitomised diary he is cautious to attribute meaning to them. For example, he had recurrent dreams about inheriting a great estate which he

thought might have been premonitions of his management of William Miller's estate but he comments 'a foreseeing spirit sometimes no doubt affords an intimation of things at many years distance; yet I by no means think every dream is to be regarded; on the contrary I believe the generality of dreams to proceed most likely from the spirit of stars rumbling in the brain on which the imagination may form wrong ideas and that the majority of dreams never come to pass, especially they come not to pass according to what the imagination presents'. Yet later on the same page he describes an intimation of a death in a dream as 'an undeniable proof of an invisible agency and of an invisible world'.

The Lamb Inn affair

I have written elsewhere at length on this episode, and the footnotes to the diary should enable the reader to follow the case.²⁴ Put at its simplest, two girls from the family of the innkeeper Richard Giles at the Lamb Inn were afflicted by a range of physical attacks on their bodies and related 'poltergeist' phenomena, both at the inn and some houses to which they were moved, from late November 1761 to December 1762. The family relatively soon came to blame a witch from Mangotsfield (Elizabeth Hemmings*), whom they thought had been hired by William James, in a bid to undermine Giles' new waggon service to London, which was challenging James's. Sceptics claimed that the Giles family were orchestrating the events in order to lessen the value of the inn, so that they could buy a share in it more cheaply, and/or that the children were faking it to gain attention and force their parents to send them away to stay in other houses. In May 1762 the innkeeper himself died, during an influenza epidemic in Bristol, but some people thought he was also a victim of the witch. When the attacks did not cease after a year (the family thought the witch had been hired for a year for ten guineas), widow Giles decided to consult a local cunning woman, and although she seems only to have advised traditional countermagic they had already used (boiling the girls' urine), this time the remedy seemed to work and the girls' afflictions ceased. The affair attracted a lot of local attention, and was reported in both Bristol and London newspapers, with sceptical denunciations or mockery of the affair answered by defences of the reality of the events and the honesty of the Giles' family, written largely by friends of Dyer (notably Stephen Penny).

I will focus here on its significance in the context of the diary. As already noted, the scale and nature of Dyer's recording of the events which he and his friends (notably the Eaton and Durbin families, but also various clergymen) observed at the Lamb Inn, are quite different from his normal brief summary of his daily round. However, it is clear from Durbin and Eaton's accounts that Dyer omitted many details they included, and that his interest in reporting the full details waxed and waned. In particular, he records far fewer details after March (only on 28 November does he give a lengthy first-hand account). He is particularly laconic over the summer months when the disturbances are only affecting the younger sister (Doppey), reflecting Dyer's particular friendship with the elder sister (Polley), then away in Swansea. By then he appears more interested in helping Mrs Giles with her business and with her youngest daughter's illness. Even when he is actively involved, he reports less than

²⁴ See n. 6 above.

Durbin about Mr Giles's problems and the preternatural occurrences that affect him, and considerably more than Durbin about what the family have to tell about an old woman being seen in the yard, and about the experiences of the girls when staying with the Haynes family: once again his greatest sympathy is for 'his little friends', and especially Polley. It is hard to resist the suspicion that the 32-year old Dyer felt some attraction to this 14 or 15-year old, especially given his disturbing dream on the night of 14/15 April. This survives in two versions, the first, on a separate scrap of paper, records that Polley 'hurry'd open her stays & that instant I tho^t I felt num^{rs} of little crabs runn up my body w^{ch} was the very same w^{ch} she felt & it made me shud^r when I had waked'. The version he wrote into his diary entry for the 15th is less explicit: 'I thought I was in comp^a with Polley Giles at Mr Haynes's & that both she & I had numbers of small crabs crawling up our body conveyed there by diabolical enchantment. Which made me shudder & made great impression on my mind after I was awake.' Although he continues to see her a few times after that, his involvement in the case declines, and perhaps this was in part because he felt unsure about his motives or safety in getting too close again.

Perhaps paradoxically, he is also relatively reticent in commenting on the religious meanings of the Lamb Inn affairs, given his willingness to attribute providential meaning to much more mundane happenings. Yet, like his dreams, it was surely largely as 'proof of an invisible agency' that Dyer and his friends kept such detailed records of what happened, and that these records were then forwarded by Brown to Lord Dartmouth, or preserved for future publication (in 1800 or indeed now!). However, this apparent paradox is perhaps resolved if we appreciate two things about the Lamb Inn case. Firstly, since most people regarded the case as simple fraud, the task for those who believed in its reality was not to explain what was happening, but to document in sufficient detail the physical events which occurred and present them as incapable of having been carried out fraudulently. As Dyer put it (25/2) 'our fine reasoners quite ridicule ye affair without Lawfords Gate & go so far as to assert that never any affair of this kind happened without being sooner or later discovered to be a cheat.' Hence Durbin's published narrative, and the diary extracts from Eaton and Dyer's diary sent to Dartmouth, focus almost totally on very specific physical descriptions, presented in the plainest 'diary' style as a series of dated and timed occurrences, observed by specific witnesses. Although Dyer's ordinary diary is less completely focussed on this, the early entries, in particular, record regular remarks such as 'I am quite convinced it cou'd not be done by the children' (2 January) or 'These are things which I cannot impute to bare imagination' (5 January) or 'which are certainly a convincing proof of a supernatural agency in that affair' (10 February). Some of the entries also read as if Dyer is not addressing himself so much as an anticipated readership concerned for factual accuracy: 'One circumstance I had almost forgot' (2 January) or 'those are the most remarkable circumstances which has ocured today' (22 January). Despite that, it is very clear that many of Dyer's acquaintances, despite asking for details of the case, 'seem resolved to disbelieve' (23 January); his employer Ames and Henry Bright first treated what he and Giles reported with 'very little credibility' (5 February) and then interrogated him again and 'diverted themselves therewith' (19 February). Another man 'believes it a trick of ye children but can bring no other proof than imagination' (27 March). Most distressing of all was the 'incredulity' of Mrs Haynes* and her son Richard*, with whom the girls had stayed at Wick in March: Dyer was reduced to praying 'May they be convinced of the

contrary & may the poor children be preserved from their adversary'. When Mrs Haynes's approach seemed to be working, however, Dyer admits that 'ye children are well. Lord pardon my weakness & whatever I have done amiss', although he later reassures himself (by conversations with Polley) that actually they had still been suffering but 'they kept it to themselves on account of Mrs Haynes's menaces & threats'.

Faced with such consistent incredulity, Dyer and friends also had to boost their own belief in what they were seeing, both by returning to witness yet more preternatural events, and with stories of similar accounts, either in books and in reported events: for Dyer (and Brown) the most significant of these were the spirit voices and experiences of George Barnes in Gloucester Lane (just round the corner from the Lamb Inn), first reported on 29 March, which, though initially forming a parallel case to that of the Giles family, came to provide corroboration for Dyer and Durbin that Giles' death and his wife's subsequent troubles were the result of witchcraft. Their attention also shifted from the preternatural happenings themselves, to the asking of questions, answered by scratches (and sometimes also by voices speaking to the girls). Not only did these provide much more explicit details of the supernatural character of what was happening, but also, if the questions were asked in Latin or Greek, or asked only in thought, and yet were answered correctly, provided even better proof that a 'supernatural agency' was at work.

Secondly, however, while Dyer and his friends believed they were not observing fraud, they were much less confident of what exactly was occurring, and how they should appropriately respond to it. When they were first called in to the Lamb Inn in mid-December 1761, the family were already talking of 'witchcraft', and Eaton (whose account seems closest to that of the family's perspective) also talks from the start about a 'w-ch' carrying out the attacks on the children and property, but Dyer is much less specific, only venturing on 5 January that 'I can't help thinking but this proceeded from a preternatural cause, & that this infernal agent which torments her was the occasion thereof'. Two days later he speaks of 'the hellish works of Satan' ceasing when prayers are said, but it is not until 15 January that he refers to 'the witch's pranks', and, after a dream 'about ye witchcraft concerning Giles's children' on 21 January, does he then refer fairly often to 'the witch' acting. However, he also retains a vocabulary about 'their malicious adversary' or 'enemy', and also, from 23 January, introduces a further term: 'the daemon'. While Dyer describes the 'witch' acting physically, it is the 'daemon' whom he describes answering questions. Indeed, his own questions are sometimes designed to make this distinction explicit: on 8 February he asks 'are you the witch herself' [no answer] then 'are you her familiar – yes' and the next day he establishes that the witch employs 'other imps' beside this one, and that there are also 'good spirits' in the room, restraining the imps where they can. As the questionings by himself, Durbin and visiting clergymen continue, so their questions become more and more theologically complex, requiring the spirit to confirm the truths of Trinitarian Christianity.

Yet at the same time Dyer was conscious of the problems with this process: initially at least he punctuates each report of questionings with the reminder that 'NB There is no dependence on the assertions of an evil spⁱ who undoubtedly is a lying one.' He also left all references to asking questions out of the diary extracts supplied to Brown. As critics of the affair in the newspapers pointed out, what were people like Dyer doing asking questions of the Devil? Dyer himself worried about this. On 18 February

he exclaimed 'indeed my spirits are tired & fatigued about this affair – May I behave with ye prudence becoming a Christian – vizt one who is seeking ye things eternal', and two days later he wrote: 'Some persons may accuse me with making too free with Satan in visiting those children. But I trust my motive in visiting them is not to converse with that evil spirit. But in order to profit both them & myself. Them, by dropping any little word w^{ch} may prove useful (tho' very incapable I am!) & myself by having my heart affected with the miserys of my poor fellow creatures who are suffered to be tortured by that mischievous spirit! Oh may the Lord gave them a due sense of this calamity & enable them to seek to himself for help.' Sadly for him, the family actually proved rather unwilling to trust in God's providence, using counter-magic and finally turning to the cunning woman of Bedminster. Dyer, who was convinced that 'ye poor wretch has a familiar to attend her', could only ask God to pardon their folly and repeat helplessly: 'oh may Jesus be ye refuge of that family & may they not flee to ye Devil for assistance'.

Despite being convinced that the family were the victims of witchcraft, Dyer and his friends could offer no practical solution to the family's problems, other than the prayers of the clergy, which brought some temporary relief sometimes but little more. Since 1736 there was no longer a crime of being a witch (only of pretending to such powers), so there was no chance of threatening Elizabeth Hemmings or William James with prosecution. On the contrary, Dyer and his friends were afraid of what these people might do to them. On 26 February Dyer records 'an odd dream' of swallowing pins and asking 'Surely the old hag has not any power over us' before reporting his alarm that Major Drax*'s hand had been cut when not with the children, before concluding 'however not any harm can happen unto those who trust in the Lord.' On 16 May Dyer prayed 'May the Lord prepare me for all events! & whatever weapon may be forming against me, Lord cause it not to prosper. The cause of this petition proceeds from a suspicion I have of Mr Giles's adversarys entering a persecution against those who are his friends.' Matters were made worse for Dyer because he had to deal regularly with William James at work. On 7 July he records: 'James the waggoner came up to off: this morn^g & the sight of the latter made me somewhat shudder as I saw the same man in my dream some nights ago & he looked with exceeding great bitterness upon me & no doubt bitterness was in his heart today tho' it did not appear in his countenancy. May I be thankful that God has suffer'd several times (of late months especially) kind hints to be given me in my sleep of any thing particular w^{ch} was soon approaching.' Furthermore, Dyer and his friends felt constrained in publishing their side of the affair, not only by a reluctance to be caught up in a public dispute, but also because they did not wish to be seen to be reviving the old practice of witch-hunting, as their opponents suggested they would be. So, when Dyer learns that Penny 'had some thoughts of publishing a narrative of that extraordinary affair with remarks thereupon' he spends 1 April writing out 'most of the remarkable transactions I can recollect', only to find that Penny's 'mind is altered fearing it might hurt the minds of the persons by filling them with jealousys & fears'. Durbin refuses to publish his narrative during his lifetime, and Dyer, while still collecting evidence for a few days from others involved in the case, eventually goes no further than supplying Brown with the material for Lord Dartmouth.

Dyer the practitioner

Compared to his frustrated efforts to 'prove useful' to the Giles family, Dyer had a much more tangible way to make himself useful through his medical practice. Indeed, his diary suggests that his preoccupation in the Lamb Inn affair in early 1762 was a temporary diversion of his attentions away from his medical work. Once again, I have written about this at greater length elsewhere, so here I shall simply sketch out the key features of his practice and its significance for his diary.²⁵

Dyer's medical practice falls into two parts. The first is his treatment of people with electricity. Dyer first saw 'electrical experiments' at Thomas Adlam's* house in 1758 and obtained his first electrical machine from London in June 1760, 'and proposed to try its effects on bodily disorders', having read Richard Lovett* and John Wesley (see 4/6) on the subject, 'and this was the first medical machine made use of in Bristol'; the globe was 'not properly knealed' but the Methodist preacher Maxfield 'an electrician came and he put it in complete order gratis'. 'During several years a multitude of poor people and indeed some few in higher life applied at my house and I saw in many cases most wonderful good effects from electricity.' He notes several other Bristolians (Adlam, Hart and Symes) who also procured electrical machines, as well as several surgeons and there was 'one stationed at Bristol Infirmary, but they never did much good therewith probably want of will and the labor of attending the application of electricity was too great'. His epitomised diary for late 1760 and 1761 notes many electrical cures he has performed on people of many types, including his neighbour Mrs Green (for 'universal rheumatism'), the father of Rev. James Brown ('who had lost his speech') and a pauper patient sent by the overseers from Chew Magna parish and he states in August 1761 'I had now much practice in electricity'. In July 1761 he was joined in this practice by Captain Francis Cheyne, a retired East India Company ship's captain who had practised electrical medicine for the poor at Abingdon and now moved to Bristol.

Given this background, it is perhaps surprising that the diary for 1762 contains only about 25 references to electrical treatment. In fact the first named case is his mare, Hobby, whose eye he electrifies on 15 January. On 21 January 'Mrs Stokes the brewer's wife came to be electrised' and the next day she returns 'with some company for the same purpose' and he also treats 'another woman who has waited for me to be electrified'. In February he merely refers to being offered a couple of rabbits and a guinea by a poor man from near Leigh 'by way of gratuity for ye benefit he reced from electricy', but Dyer refused the guinea. In March he has 2 more cases and visits the electrical machine at St Peters Hospital, but in April he only treats Brown for a headache. During the summer months he treats 2 or 3 cases a month, rising to 5 in October, but returning to 3 in November, and none are recorded in December. Whether this signifies a decline in his electrical practice, or whether he actually saw cases which are not recorded, is hard to be sure; he is always very brief in recording each case. The problems treated are various, with eyes and rheumatism each mentioned three times, deafness and dumbness each twice, other physical ailments (cramp, toe, strained instep), one 'paralitick', and various mental conditions including weakness of nerves (and 'all ye symptoms of an idiot'), melancholy and crazed. Dyer is also

²⁵ Barry, 'Piety and the Patient'.

cautious about his likely effectiveness, especially in the latter cases. The people he treated (all, one assumes, free of charge) varied from his friends (Brown, Durbin, Eaton and their relations) through various named individuals (a clerk, the brewer's wife, the godly Miss Roe, whom he later treats for cancer), to a range of unnamed men, women and children, many of them poor and several sent from outside Bristol.

The 1760s was a highpoint in early experimentation in the use of electricity for medical purposes, and it is clear that orthodox medical men (including both Bristol's hospitals) were using it, as well as amateurs like Dyer. However, there does seem a particular association of interest in its use with both evangelicals and pietists. On 4 June Dyer and Brown visit the electrical machine at the Methodist chapel in Coleford. Symes practised medicine with his machine like Dyer, but he also saw electricity as physical confirmation that nature worked on Behmenist principles, and especially the universal presence of an inner fire (see 4 February and Symes's biography) and it seems likely that electricity carried at least some of the same metaphysical meanings for Dyer as well as Symes, allowing him to combine the Christian duty of healing with proof of his favourite religious writers.

It is harder to be sure if any similar religious ideas lay behind Dyer's other specific medical remedies, though it surely underlay his keenness to care for others (though one might also observe that it gave him an excellent reason to move around and visit lots of people, feeling that he was using his time 'profitably'). By and large this practice seems to have involved him visiting his family, friends and people he met through work, rather than people coming to his house or being referred to him for treatment. The treatments he offered were either prescriptions or medicines that he had prepared or bought. Having had a brief training as an apothecary's apprentice, Dyer was capable of preparing his own pills and 'decoctions', but he also purchased remedies and ingredients from London and Bristol, as well as attending the closing-down sale at Dominiceti's (see 17 June), no doubt to purchase drugs. The medicines he offered, such as mercury, though they might strike us as unusual and dangerous, were regular ingredients then, while he frequently recommended Dr James's Powder and 'bark' (quinine) which were fashionable and orthodox patent medicines. More controversial was the use of hemlock, which he seems to have taken up from September onwards, after he was asked to obtain some for a Clifton man with a cancerous leg. He immediately reads up about its use in the recent work by Dr Storck, noting 'may my studys be directed for ye glory of God' and then applies it to several of his other patients, including Miss Roe (who had breast cancer), carefully tracing the progress of her illness and his methods of treating her. He was clearly disgusted when she 'apply'd to an old woman in Bedminster (and therefore laid aside ye hemlock) who promises her help', but soon takes up her case again, prescribing James's powders and then mercury pills. When she dies the next day he worries whether his pills caused the death but is reassured that 'she took only one of 'em and no kind of operation perceived', and then reflects on the impact of the hemlock pills, which he continues to give to others. In several of these cases he works in conjunction with Cheyne (they go out together to find hemlock plants in Bedminster), but he also consults with regular medical practitioners like Dr Drummond* and Roe's surgeon.

His attitude to illness, however, may strike us as paradoxical. He was clearly keen to cure people and relieve pain, and found deaths deeply distressing: the longterm consumption of his 'poor' brother John constantly upset him. Yet he also assumed that illness and pain were instruments of God's providence. Hence such remarks as

(on John's cough on 16 June) 'may God sanctify it unto him. Lord pity and relieve him', after which Dyer sends Robert up to John with some prunes! On 4 September he calls on Miss Roe 'who is in much pain – the groans of the afflicted affect my mind. May I profit by it'. His attitude was surely affected by the examples of his two mentors, Rachel Tucker and Rebecca Scudamore, both of whom were frequently ill. As noted above, Tucker's diary is a continuous counterpoint between physical illness and spiritual consolation, and although the one is not presented as a necessary condition of the other, it might seem so. His long account of her conversation while convulsed with fits on 13 August, not only stresses the 'solid peace' she possessed 'amidst all the pain', but also involves the hope to be freed of this mortal body. John Wesley was to object to Scudamore's piety that she dwelt too much on the necessity of worldly suffering (see her biography), and it was perhaps that attitude which had also led Tucker to fall out with the Wesleys (see above).

Conclusion

Dyer's diary, therefore, while it offers us a unique insight into the daily life of an ordinary Bristolian and the many people whose lives he touched, is not a simple record of events. It is shaped, like all diaries, by what its writer thought it was appropriate to record (or not) and by what the very act of recording meant to him, in so far as it reflected the life he thought he should be leading. Dyer did not use his diary to reflect on his personal life or his family relationships, nor was he particularly interested in understanding other people. He also eschewed whole areas of Bristol's public and cultural life – he almost never took part in anything political, only once ever attended the theatre and only a couple of concerts, and none of these in 1762. As he noted on 3 August 'I am an exceeding improper person to spend an evening at an inn', and he was equally ill at ease when (in trying to be modest and sit at the lowest seat!) he found himself in the position of 'toastmaster' at the dinner for 70 people put on by his employer Elton, then Bristol's mayor. If there was a growing world of fashion and consumerism in eighteenth-century Bristol, Dyer is not its chronicler. Despite his employment, he showed absolutely no interest in commerce or wider questions of trade. Had he done so, he might well have felt distressed at the effects of his occupation, as the gunpowder company underpinned the slave trade and warfare: in later life he was to support the abolitionist movement and give evidence to Thomas Clarkson, but he offers no comment in his diary on the moral or practical effects of his work.²⁶ Equally, he is silent on wider social issues, offering no overt reflections on class or gender relations.

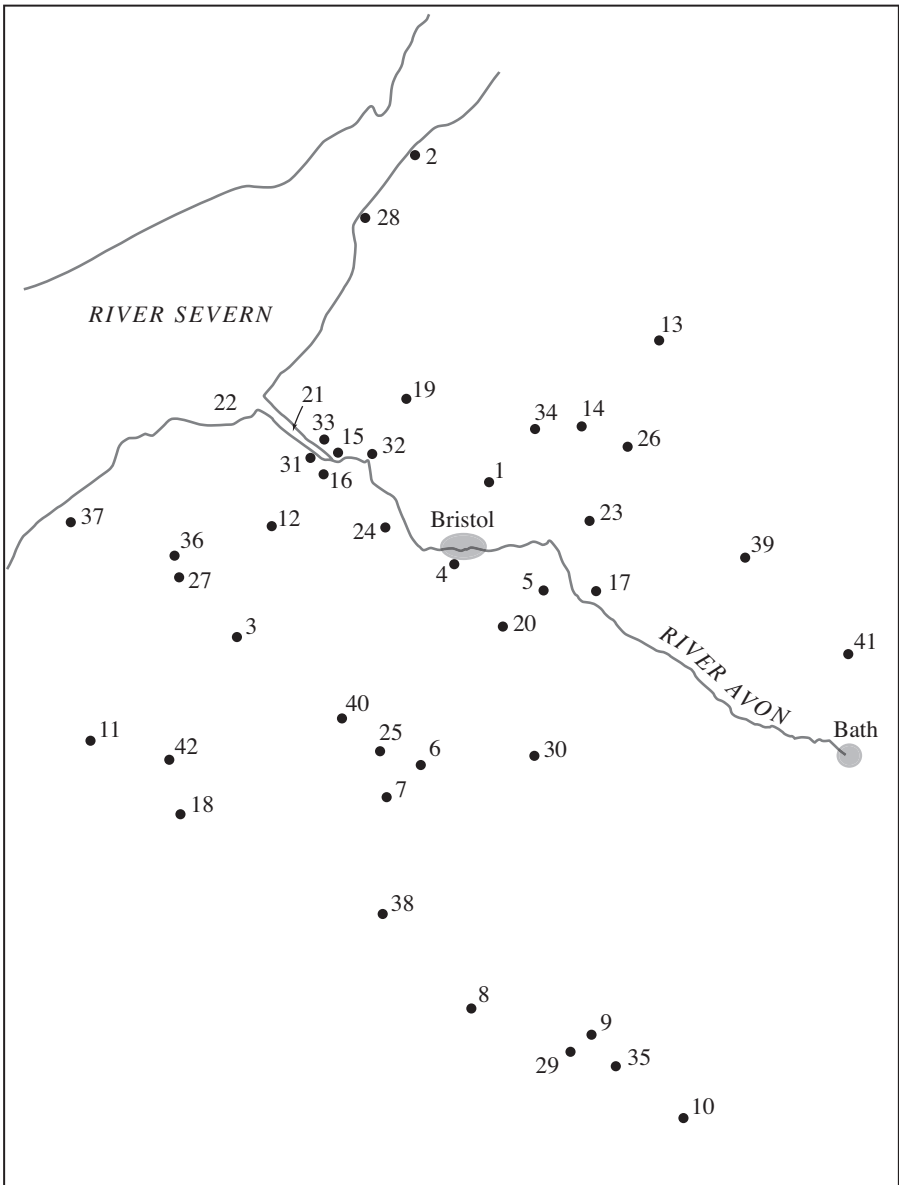
Instead, Dyer offers us the daily record of a religious and self-critical man interacting with individual people through his work, religious and medical activity and endless round of visiting. Many of the patterns in those interactions which I have tried to sketch in this introduction may have been invisible to him, while many others were no doubt so self-evident that he never bothers to comment on them. Instead, I think he used his diary in two ways. On the one hand, it fulfilled that same compulsion which led him to visit so many people: his desire to be part of a web of people, and a

²⁶ See Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured* (2001) for varied reactions to these issues in Bristol.

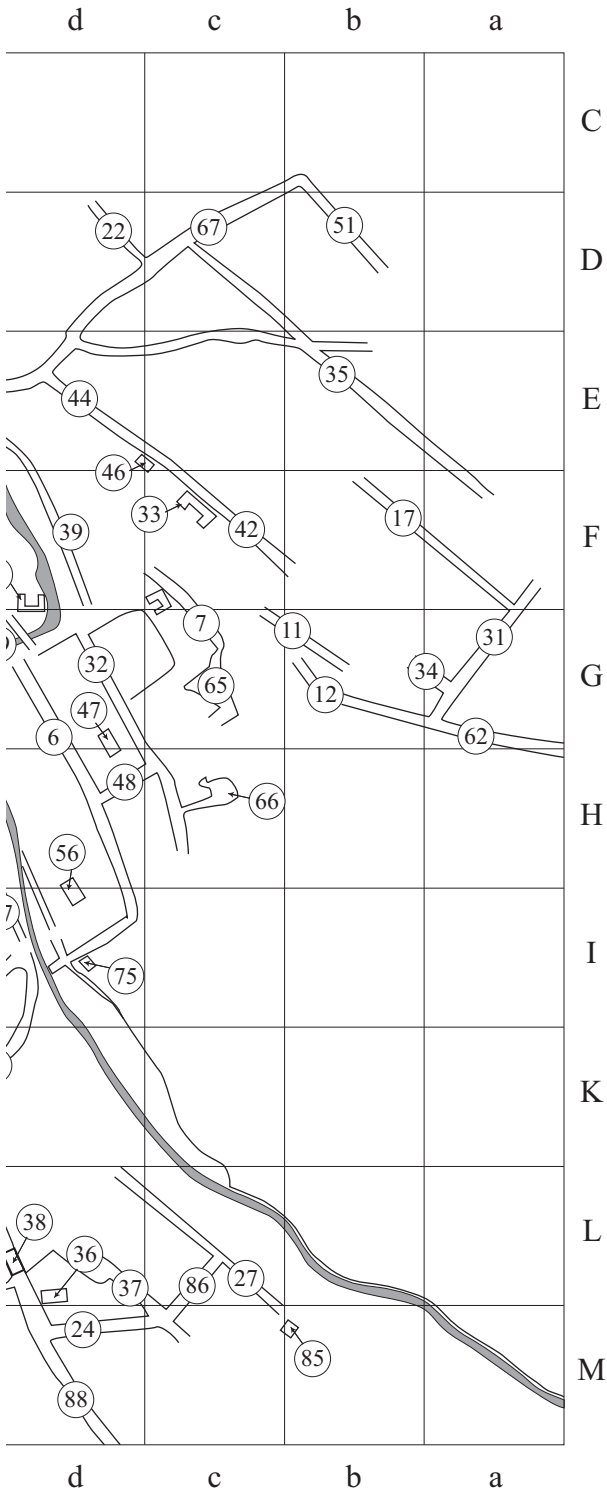
deep interest in their lives and fortunes, the ‘many very remarkable occurrences’ he mentions on 8 June. On the other hand, it reflected his sense that the world was a dangerous place, both in the threats it posed to his calmness and security, and in its temptations. Like much of his religious activity and reading, his diary could help him both gain composure after the day was over, but also warn him of how he needed to behave in order to maintain his sense of identity. However conventional it may sound, his observation on 31 December ‘may God grant me to be wiser and better as I grow older’ may offer the key to the purpose of his diary. Since his own wish to have the diary destroyed has not been fulfilled, perhaps we can at least use it to grow wiser (if not better) ourselves in our understanding of Bristol’s past.

Map 1: Bristol’s hinterland in 1762 (grid references are to the Ordnance Survey National Grid)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ashley Vale, Stapleton ST6075 | 22. Kingroad |
| 2. Aust Passage ST5688 | 23. Kingswood ST6473 |
| 3. Backwell ST4968 | 24. Leigh Down ST5574 |
| 4. Bedminster ST5871 | 25. Littleton ST5563 |
| 5. Brislington ST6270 | 26. Mangotsfield ST6576 |
| 6. Chew Magna ST5763 | 27. Nailsea ST4770 |
| 7. Chew Stoke ST5561 | 28. New Passage ST5486 |
| 8. Chewton Mendip ST5953 | 29. Old Down ST6251 |
| 9. Chilcompton ST6451 | 30. Pensford ST6263 |
| 10. Coleford ST6949 | 31. Pill ST5276 |
| 11. Congresbury ST4363 | 32. Sea Mills ST5476 |
| 12. Failand ST5173 | 33. Shirehampton ST5376 |
| 13. Frampton Cotterell ST6682 | 34. Stoke Park ST6277 |
| 14. Frenchay ST6478 | 35. Stratton on Foss ST6550 |
| 15. Fulligrove ST5376 | 36. Tickenham ST4671 |
| 16. Ham Green ST5375 | 37. Walton in Gordano ST4273 |
| 17. Hanham ST6470 | 38. West Harptree ST5656 |
| 18. Havyatt Green ST4760 | 39. Wick ST7072 |
| 19. Henbury ST5678 | 40. Winford ST5465 |
| 20. Hengrove ST6069 | 41. Woolley ST7468 |
| 21. Hungrood | 42. Wrington ST4762 |







Map 2: Bristol in 1762
(see key overleaf)

Map 2: Bristol in 1762 (grid and number references are to *A Plan of the City of Bristol, delineated from actual Survey by Benjamin Donne* (1773))

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Avon Street Ih | 46. Moravian Church Ed no 19 |
| 2. Back Gg-h | 47. New Room Gd no 22 |
| 3. Baldwin Street Ff | 48. Old King Street Hd |
| 4. Bridge Gf | 49. Old Market Ke |
| 5. Broad Street Fe | 50. Orchard Street Df |
| 6. Broadmead Gd | 51. Paul Street Db |
| 7. Cannon Street Gc | 52. Peter Street GHe |
| 8. Castle Ditch Ie | 53. Pithay Ge |
| 9. Castle Gate H-Ie | 54. Post Office Ff no 53 |
| 10. Castle Street H-Ie | 55. Princes St Eh |
| 11. Charles Street Gb | 56. Quakers Friars meeting Hd no 25 |
| 12. Cherry Lane Gb | 57. Quay/Key Ei-g |
| 13. College (Cathedral) Dh no 63 | 58. Queen Square Fh |
| 14. College Green Dg | 59. Redcliff Hill G-Hi-k |
| 15. Corn Street Ff | 60. Redcliff Street G-Hg-h |
| 16. Customs House Fh no 76 | 61. Small Street Fe-f |
| 17. Dove Street Fa-b | 62. Stokes Croft Ga-b |
| 18. Drawbridge Ef | 63. Stoney Hill De |
| 19. Duck Lane Ge | 64. St Augustine's Back Ef-g |
| 20. Ellbroad Street I-Kd | 65. St James Barton Gc |
| 21. Exchange Ff no 54 | 66. St James' Square Hc no 10 |
| 22. Fort Lane Dd | 67. St Michael's Hill Dc-d |
| 23. Gibb/ Great Crane on Grove Ei no 77 | 68. St Nicholas Church Gf no 57 |
| 24. Gloucester Lane Md | 69. St Nicholas Street Ff |
| 25. Grammar School Ee no 30 | 70. St Peters Hospital He no 44 |
| 26. Great Garden I-Kh | 71. St Philips Church Kf no 60 |
| 27. Great George Street Lc-d | 72. St Philips Plain Kf |
| 28. Guildhall Fe no 34 | 73. St Thomas Street Hg-h |
| 29. Guiney Street Gk | 74. St Werburghs Ff no 52 |
| 30. High Street Gf | 75. Tabernacle Id no 26 |
| 31. Hillgrove Street Ga | 76. Temple Street H-Ig-h |
| 32. Horsefair Gd | 77. Temple Church Ig no 74 |
| 33. Infirmary Fc no 7 | 78. Temple Quakers meeting Hg no 73 |
| 34. Jamaica Street Ga-b | 79. Tower Harratz Kg |
| 35. Kingsdown Ea-b | 80. Tower Street Kh |
| 36. Lamb Inn L-Md | 81. Trenchard Lane D-Ee-f |
| 37. Lamb Street Ld-c | 82. Trinity Street D-Eh |
| 38. Lawford's Gate Ld-e | 83. Tucker Street Hf |
| 39. Lewin's Mead Fd | 84. Unity Street Le-f |
| 40. Limekiln Lane B-Ch-g | 85. Universal Burying Ground Mb no 5 |
| 41. Mansion House Fh no 82 | 86. Wade Street Lc |
| 42. Marlborough Street Fc | 87. Weare H-Id-e |
| 43. Maryport Street Ge-f | 88. West Street L-Md |
| 44. Maudlin Lane Ed | 89. Whitehall Fd no 20 |
| 45. Mayor's Chapel (St Marks) Dg no 62 | 90. Wine Street Ge |

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations ('ed' or 'er' or 'ing' contractions are not given)

1755 – *Bath and Bristol Guide* (Bath, 1755)

1775 – *Sketchley's Bristol Directory* (Bristol, 1775)

1793–4 – *Matthews's New Bristol Directory for the Year 1793–4* (Bristol, 1794)

AD – Ann Dyer

ab^t – about

acco^t – account

aftern^o – afternoon

afterw^{ds} – afterwards

A^s – Ames

ans^r – answer and ans^d – answered

ball^a – balance

b^{ls} – barrels

BCL – Bristol Central Library, Bristol Collection

bo^t – bought

BRO – Bristol Records Office

bro^r – brother

bro^t – brought

C – hundredweight

capⁿ – captain

carr^{ge} or carr^d – carriage or carried

Ch^{ge} – Change (i.e the Exchange)

Char^s or Cha^s – Charles

comp^a or comp^y – company

conversⁿ or convers^a – conversation

Cust^o – Customs

dau^r – daughter

d^y – day (also ^y only e.g. Tues^y)

D^{ne} – Deane

d^r – dear

dd – debited

deliv^d – delivered

din^r – dinner

dra^t – draught

Durbin – Henry Durbin, *A Narrative of Some Extraordinary Things that Happened at the Lamb Inn, Bristol* (Bristol, 1800)

Edw^d – Edward

ev^g or even^g – evening

exam^d or exa^d – examined

extra^y – extraordinary

FFBJ – *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*

foren^o – forenoon (i.e. morning)

fr^d – friend

f^m – from

Geo – George

Glos^r – Gloucester

gra^s or gr: – grams or gram

gui^s – guineas

hemlo: – hemlock

He^y, Hen^y or Hen – Henry

h^{ds} – hogsheads

ho: – house

Hop^s – Hopkins

J: – John

Ja^s – James

JD – John Dyer

Jn^o – John

L – pound sterling

lb – pound weight

lre – letter

Litⁿ – Littleton

Liverp^o – Liverpool

mer: – mercury

m^g or morn^g – morning

mo^r – mother

Mrs S: – Mrs [Rebecca] Scudamore

Nich^s – Nicholas

ODNB – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004 and online)

OED – *Oxford English Dictionary* (online)

o'clock: – o'clock

off: or off – office

ord^d – ordered

oz – ounces

pd – paid

Pitⁿ – Pitman

Plym^o – Plymouth

p – post (i.e. after)

pow^r – powder

quar^r – quarter

questⁿ – question

RD – Robert Dyer

reced – received
 ret^d – returned
 rev^d – reverend
 Rob^t – Robert
 The Room – The Wesleyan New Room in Horsefair
 sacra^t – sacrament
 serm^o – sermon
 serv^t – servant
 soc^y – Society
 s^o – soul
 sis^r – sister
 sp^{ts} – spirits
 st^d – stayed
 Sy^s – Symes
 Tabern^a – Tabernacle
 Tho^s – Thomas
 tomor^o – tomorrow
 wagⁿ – waggon (or sometimes waggoner)
 w^{ch} – which
 Werb^{ghs} – Werburgh's
 W^m – William
 wind^o – window
 wth or w^h – with
 womⁿ or wom^a – woman
 wk – week or work
 Xtian – Christian

THE DIARY FOR 1762

[This opening section appears in diary pasted in middle of entry for 28 November]

New Year's Day Friday [January 1, 1762]

Rose ab¹ 8 & sat out for Litⁿ¹ near 9 home p 12. Went to Change² 2 went to dinner with AD³ [at] Mrs Symes's afterw^{ds} to off:⁴ visited Rachell⁵ at Mr Davis's⁶ where .. came last Tuesd^y. Afterw^{ds} at bro^r Jno^{s7} & at 7 ret^d to Mr Symes's & spent the evening .. till p 10. Today the toll began to be collected ... [Br]istol temporary bridge.⁸

Saturday [January 2, 1762]

Rose this m^s ab¹ 7 took walk & [brea]kfasted with mother: then to .. & about 12 went up to the Lamb⁹ where were also Mr He^y Durbin, Ja^s Smith,¹⁰ Mess^{rs} Penny & Eaton. We were all by ourselves in a room ... order to try an experiment with ..yling ye

¹ The gunpowder works at Littleton (see introduction) lie in the valley of the Winford brook between Winford and Chew Magna.

² The Bristol Exchange off Corn Street, opened in September 1743.

³ Ann Dyer*.

⁴ Dyer's office was the gunpowder office of Baugh*, Ames* and co, described in 1775 as 'first door on right up one pair of stairs 17 in the Exchange', above the Exchange Coffeehouse. They had moved there in December 1751, at an annual rent of £8, and they remained until 1792 when the Coffeehouse was replaced by a new bank.

⁵ Rachel Tucker*.

⁶ Henry Davis*.

⁷ John Dyer*.

⁸ While Bristol Bridge was rebuilt, a temporary bridge was operating: a notice of the tolls ran in the Bristol papers from 14 December 1761.

⁹ The Lamb Inn, 9 West Street, without Lawford's Gate, kept by Richard Giles*. See the photograph on the front cover of this publication. BRO 40197/3 is a photograph of the Lamb Inn, West Street, endorsed 'diagram of building with measurements', c. June 1904.

¹⁰ A James Smith baker was listed at 15 Lamb Street in 1775.

childrens water¹¹ with ... in it but the experiment was not properly tryed. The two children were present & Po[lley]¹² the eldest had like to have [been] strangled once & was quite black in the face, by ... invisible hand clasping rou.. her neck. This morn^e they .. us she cou'd not drink a dish of ... Her arm being struck up.. as she had got the cup to her ... & once the tea cup was rais[ed] from ye saucer 12 inches ... perpendicular, by an invis.. power & then fell down in pieces. I staid there w.. above gentlemen 'till ½ p 2 & p 3 at off: & st^d there &c 'till ... went again to the Lamb ... there with Mr Eaton 'till nea.. we set Polly to write several words but somtimes her righ.. was given such a sudden jerk

..dren were both put away in ...closed ½ an hour in the same ... room during w^{ch} time Doppey¹³ ye youngest cried out twice ... something was pulling her out of bed by the neck & we cou'd perceive her neck was strain'd as if pulled by something, but cou'd not see any thing. Polly had also like to be strangled 6 or 7 times & appea.. black in ye face each time when lifted her up in the bed as quick as possible & then it went off. This morn^e about 10 o'clock the family had missed Doppey ... an hour & was under great consternation concern^e her hav^e searched every place as cou'd be thought of. At last Mr Giles turned up stairs & looking under a bed in an inward room i.e. the seco.. room from the stair case He said the poor child ...

... the bed but cou.. cry hav^e its mouth cover.. said afterwards by an ha.. in a short time after he took her... cried vehemently & said that a...was stand^e by the kitchen ... a hand cover'd her mou.. another hand took her rou.. neck & lug'd her up stairs & ... don't remember seting one ... on ye stairs, nor does she .. whether any person was ... ye kitchen fire when she ... convey'd away. This same ... was quite pulled out of b.. a few nights ago. I had almost forgot to ment.. that this even^e I heard in the ... a scratching several times ... as if done with iron claws ... upon striking once or twice with my foot against the Bed ste..

[ju]st as many times wou'd the scratching echo & I am quite convinced it cou'd not be done by the children

¹¹ See Eaton's diary 2-8 January for more on this as 'an experiment that was trying in order to afflict the w-ch'. A remedy against witchcraft in *FFBJ* 25 November 1752 had noted that a mixture of urine and other exotic ingredients, if boiled, would cause the witch agony and, if it boiled quite away, she would die. The recipe 'to perplex or kill a witch', was taken from an old collection 'written when the laws of our country admitted of witches and punishing them' and included, besides urine, foal's heart, apple, a lock of hair, blood and pins. The guilty party would be found naked, with their skin turned black and in most horrid torments. Sceptics about the Lamb Inn case picked on such counter-measures: one questioning those involved for sitting around while 'something is cooling over the fire that is to bring the witch to the door' (*FFBJ* 20 February), while another noted 'charms have been devised, the waters of the purest virgins have been preserved in urinals and tortured in a burning cauldron' before adding, more fantastically, 'whereto hath been added a select number of crooked horse-nails, ditto beheaded pins, the skin of a rat, the claw of a cat, the wing of a bat, the white of a rattle-snake, and the slime of a toad &c, &c, &c' (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, 15 February). Durbin's narrative generally omits all reference to this aspect.

¹² Mary Giles*, known as Molly to Durbin and Polley (or Polly) to Dyer.

¹³ Dorothy Giles*, known as Dobby to Durbin and Doppey to Dyer.

Sunday, [Janua]ry 3, [1762]

Rose ab¹ 7 went to the Lamb Heard Polley Giles has had a convuls..¹⁴ ... tonight. Called on Mother Davis – in foren^o went to St Nich^s & ... sacra^t & had a comfortable opportunity.¹⁵ Afterw^{ds} went to St Werb^{ghs}¹⁶all'd on Rachell at Mr Davis's from ..nce to Bro^r Jno^s & then to Mr Eaton ... went with him to Quakers meet^g¹⁷ & spent near 2 hours there very ..greeably where I heard one Mr Tho^s Whitehead¹⁸ a truly good man! Who delivered the truth wth clearness & energy.

Monday, Jan[ua]ry 4, 1762

Rose ab¹ 7 – p 9 up in To[wn]¹⁹ staid at off: &c 'till 2. After dinner went with Mr Ames to Mr ... but the latter was from home. At 5 home. Ret^d to off: & p 7 we.. up to Mr Eatons & made enquir.. concern^g ye affair at the Lam.. w^{ch} appears rather worse tha.. better. This morn^g while in bed one of the children dec.. she saw a Hand & part of the body of a person who (I thin..) draw'd the curtain. [Added in smaller hand] There was a womⁿ who ... with ye children last night also declares she ...

This day Bro:^r and Sister Hop[kins]²⁰ dined with us & staid the ev.. This visit being to comme[mo]rate wedding day, which 10 years yesterday to them & 11 yesterday to me & my wife.²¹

[Tuesday, January 5, 1762]²²

..had but just done when suddenly her head was jerked forward & struck her mouth against the cup. She was then desired to come & sit in a chair just by me and I held her elbow with one hand & her head with t'other when she drank without interruption but whenever she attempted to drink without so doing either her elbow or head was jerked.

¹⁴ Durbin's account (p. 13) describes the girl's fit in some detail, but argues that 'it was no convulsion' in a medical sense. See 5/1 (i.e. 5 January) for Dyer's views on this.

¹⁵ Comfortable means strengthening or inspiring; in particular the 1547–8 order of communion refers to the 'most comfortable sacrament' and after the absolution there are scriptural sayings known as the 'comfortable words'.

¹⁶ In Corn Street, rebuilt in 1759–61 and reopened in February 1761.

¹⁷ Quakers Friars meeting house in Rosemary Street had been new built in 1747–9.

¹⁸ Thomas Whitehead (c. 1719–98) was a Quaker preacher, who was an insurance broker for many years (in 1763 he married Mrs Short, who kept the Exchange Coffeehouse and in 1775 Whitehead and Bailey insurance brokers were at 44 Corn Street, while he lived at 44 St Michael's Hill), but he also operated as a banker, being a partner with Ames*, Deane* and others in the Small Street bank. He subscribed (as a 'banker') to Lovett's* *Philosophical Essays* in 1766.

¹⁹ This refers to the main part of Bristol, across the Bridge from the Redcliffe/Temple area where Dyer lived.

²⁰ Samuel* and Hannah Hopkins*. Hannah was Ann Dyer's* sister.

²¹ Although Dyer had actually got married on 23 December 1750, he regarded 3 January as his wedding anniversary because, like many people, he did not accept the calendar change in 1752 which had jumped 11 days to bring the British and continental calendars together.

²² The start of this entry is missing. The central part of this account is not reported by Durbin (pp. 13–15) or Eaton, though Durbin does report a cup being snatched from Molly and a chamberpot moving (and a glass levitating – see end of Dyer's extracted diary for Brown), while Eaton reports part of the whispering, though he says Polley said 'stairs' not 'upstairs'.

After breakfast she sat in the window again (about 6 inches from her right side being the window shutter) soon after which her head was with a sudden jerk struck against the said window shutter. & this (I think) was repeated twice. Her sister Doppey or Dorothy was then placed between the window shutter & herself when of a sudden she was jerked against her sister & that with some violence & it appeared to her as if a hand had suddenly taken hold of the opposite arm just above the elbow & performed this sudden jerk. She was then removed to sit in a chair 6 inches from where I sat when it was not long before she was suddenly jerk.. against my side & she fell against me with some degree of force. She was two or three times pinched in the neck behind whilst sitting in the window & I am confident it could not be done by herself because I saw both her hands before her at ye time she cried out & upon looking immediately saw her flesh indented about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in length as if done by a thumb or large finger nail. Some people may term those sudden jerks convulsive motions but I am confident of the contrary.

The paroxysm or fit she had this morn^g seem'd of the hysteric or convulsive kind, because of her hands being clinched & as she told me afterwards there seemed as if a ball ascended to her throat & (I think) she said her heart was clipped but I can't help thinking but this proceeded from a preternatural cause, & that this infernal agent which torments her was the occasion thereof. But that those indentures in her flesh were spasmodick I think is against all sense & experience to suppose. The woman who lay with the children again tonight declares that Doppey had once in the night very likely to have been pulled out of bed & that she held her with some violence to prevent it & she again declares that yester^y morn^g she saw a hand & arm & part of a body all one side as it were, but it pulled the curtain & seemed to endeavour to hide itself behind the curtain from her sight. One circumstance I had almost forgot which was that while Polley sat by me this morn^g she thoug.. I whispered in her ear next to me & this happened two or three times but she first cou'd not distinguish what was whispered but at last she said she plainly heard it whisper something about "upstairs" but did not distinguish clearly any other words. & while she satt in the window & Mr Eaton very near to her she thought he had whispered something in her ear whereas he was looking quite another way. & also another circumstance was that she 3 or 4 times felt a damp hand laid on her bare skin just below the neck behind. Whereas no person visible touched her. These are things which I cannot impute to bare imagination.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p 9 went to Mr Ames & wth him to Mr Baugh & they both talk'd of advanc^g ye price of powder²³ at least to suspend taking any considerable orders. Staid off. & c 'till 2. B Ramzor came to off: this morn^g & I settled with him & at samtime told him my mind concern^g his ill conduct. After din' went to off: at 5 went to Mrs Greens & drank tea there with AD and Sam²⁴ then to off & st^d 'till 8.

²³ Gunpowder: see intro\duction.

²⁴ Samuel Dyer*, William's youngest brother, aged 14.

Wednesday, Jan[ua]ry 6, 1762

Rose ab' 7 & p 8 went without ye Gate²⁵ & took short walk with Mr Eaton & call'd at the Lamb²⁶ where was Mr Hen Durbin. They inform'd me that yesterday about 1 o'clock at noon Doppey was taken up stairs by an invisible hand & when up stairs she saw the appearance of a woman who cryed "a witch a witch" & that she dragged the child under the bed & there kept it lying down by her & staring in the face. That when some body came up stairs to seek after the children the old woman disappeared but they found a great resistance when they pulled the child from under the bed. & last night the nurse maid declares she saw an old woman (& describes her dress) stand at the foot of the bed. & she herself (the nurse maid) was with difficulty prevented from being pulled out of bed by her feet. This morning I saw Polley when at breakfast several times jerked with her head against the wind° shutter & her hand likewise tossed up when attempting to drink a cup of tea. This aftern° Mrs Giles & Mr Eaton came down to our house I hav^g proposed they shall have a room for the children.

At 11 went to St Werb^{ghs} & heard an Excellent serm° & went into the vestry to Mr Symes. – staid on Change &c 'till 2. Then home & near 6 at off went to auction at ye Bush²⁷ & near 8 at Helpful Society.²⁸

Thursday, Jan[ua]ry 7, 1762

Rose near 8. Sent lre to Mr E.. & reced an account of some remarkable occurrences last night at ye Lamb.²⁹ Called on Mr Brown: Staid at off &c 'till 2. After din^r call'd

²⁵ Outside Lawford's Gate. After complaints about its narrowness in both 1747 and 1751, the Gate was removed under the act of 1766.

²⁶ Both Eaton and Durbin have much fuller details of the Doppey story on 5 January, including details of the witch and her clothing.

²⁷ Bush Tavern at 40 Corn St, which became famous from the 1770s under the management of John Weeks and was listed in 1793–4 as one of two principal taverns and one of three principal inns in Bristol. See James Williams* for the book auctions in its 'Great Room'.

²⁸ This was a friendly society, to support the widows of its members, which Dyer had joined on 4 September 1751, paying a 10s entrance fee. It met on the first Wednesday evening of each month, and Dyer always attended briefly; the (longer) annual meeting was in December. There is no mention of this Society in any public record in Bristol. Other members mentioned are a mercer, apothecary, haberdasher and teacher; 14 members briefly withdrew in 1752 and he mentions dining with 11 members that same year. From July 1759 it met at Mrs Coote's in Temple Street and from February 1763 at Mrs Gees (a Mary Gee, grocer, is at 59 Thomas Street in 1775); these locations and the other people mentioned all suggest that the society may have been for people living south of the river. Dyer's diary records the keeping of money in the Society chest, with keys held by various persons including himself as secretary for a period until 1766 when the writing master Abraham Gadd replaced him. He also records fruitless efforts in 1753–4 to establish a serge manufactory to earn a profit with their money. He notes the deaths of various widows supported by the Society (e.g. William Morrish's* widow), the exclusion of a 'sodomite', and a controversy over whether to support the family of a suicide (Dyer opposed this, but it was approved by the majority). The Society probably operated similarly to the 'Useful Society', whose operations are clarified by references in a sermon preached for their annual dinner and published as sermon no 9 in William Davies, *Sermons on Religious and Moral Subjects* (Bristol, 1756); this used members' subscriptions to purchase annuities for the widows to commence on the decease of their husbands, so helping both them and any fatherless orphans; in 1756 the Society lent £3000 at 4 % interest to All Saints vestry.

²⁹ Eaton's diary of 6 January details these, mainly in the form of bites, whereas Dyer's diary has more on the bites seen on 7/1. The drawings of the bitemarks are shown on the photograph of this page used as the frontispiece to the volume. Neither Eaton nor Durbin (pp. 15–16) report what Mrs Giles says about the old woman, and Durbin omits Roquet's prayers and their effect.

on Mr Durbin ab¹ 4 at off: Drank tea with Bro^r John who is today ret^d from Glos^r where he went last Tuesday. & I am under some concern with regard to his affairs. This even^s at ½ p 7 went to the Lamb & was there in comp^a with Mrs Giles sometime when nothing material happened except that Polley once said that somthing whistled in her ear. Afterwards Mr Durbin Mr Eaton, Mr Roquet & Mr Smith breeches maker in Old King Street³⁰ also came there. Ab¹ ½ p 9 the children were just to bed & soon after we all went up in the chamber and what was very amazing and astonishing both the children were several times I suppose 6 or 8 times bit on their arms & there was the mark of two rows of teeth an upper & an under row which formed an ovall of 2 inches length sometimes (we measured it once with a rule w^{ch} was exactly 2 inches) & somtimes it was a smaller ovall the childrens hands were most of the time in bed & their mouths above the bed clothes so that we are confident it cou^d not be their own doing but what is most amazing and what must puzzle the phylosophy of our reasoning gentleman was that there was a slimy spittle or a slaver [saliva written above in same hand] left all round the indentures as if it came from the lips of some person. We observed that the biting was much less when there was light in the room than when the candles were carried out. & therefore the candles were several times carried out of the room & Polleys hands were put out of bed but covered with a cloth. But notwithstanding she was very soon after bit. & Doppey's arms I held myself & she was also bit & somtimes the print of the teeth were so exceed^s deep as if it were just thro' the skin once or twice there seemed to have been two bites just after each other in an oval form thus (drawing) But the generality of the bites were only in this shape (drawing) & what is most marvellous the slimy spittle which I felt with my fingers & am confident there was no deceit. Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton saw the same sort of bites last night and they think there was about 24 in the whole. After we were ab¹ 15 minutes in the room Mr Roquet & all ye company knelt down to pray & afterwards he spoke very suitable to the occasion which appeared to be well reced by every one present. & the hellish works of Satan entirely ceased as to the above affair from the time he begun his prayer 'till we went away which was past 11 o'clock.

Mrs Giles told of an old womⁿ who came there this even^s & behaved very oddly but cou^d give but little account of herself.

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 8, 1762

Rose at 5 and gave keys of Tow^r Harratz³¹ for ye wagⁿ³² went to bed and rose again at 8. Sent Robert³³ to Litⁿ this morn^s because I had sundry places to go to. p 9 up in

³⁰ In 1775 Edward Smith breeches and glue maker is listed at 23 Old King Street.

³¹ This ancient tower (called Tower Harriots on Millerd's map of 1673) was a major city landmark (one of Chatterton's favourites) and lay in the corner of the Great Garden, where Dyer lived; hence regular early morning calls by those requiring a key to store materials there. It had been used to store gunpowder when manufactured at Baber's Tower in Bristol in the 1670s and the gunpowder company had leased it from 1749 to store their gunpowder, but after a fire there the Temple parishioners (understandably) petitioned for the removal of all powder in July 1756 and it was taken out, moving to Hungrood (see 21/1) and then Fulligrove magazine (see 5/3) but some being kept in Redcliffe Backs (and Dyer moved house to be close to the store). In December 1757 a printed paper was dispersed about the dangers of storing gunpowder there and, after the company dispersed their own paper in reply, it was agreed to use Tower Harratz again, but only for small amounts of powder needed for 'town customers'. BRO f/Bond/3 are Tower Harratz bonds.

³² The wagon was bringing powder into Bristol to store in Tower Harratz.

³³ Robert Dyer*

town. afterw^{ds} at Cust^o Ho:³⁴ also at Pitⁿ Fields³⁵ Mr Webbs.³⁶ Then to off & staid there &c 'till 2. after dinner went to Mr Symes's & at 5 call'd on Mr Eaton & drank tea there. I find that Polly Giles had one violent bite on her arm this morning. p 6 up in town afterw^{ds} went to Williams's auction of books³⁷ & staid 'till near 10.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 9, 1762

Rose ab^l 8 when James (belong^g to ye wag^{ns})³⁸ called

Went to Tow^r Harratz & reced some petre.³⁹ p 9 up in town went to Mr Ames's & Mr Baugh staid at off &c 'till 2. This day war was declared in Bristol against Spain. –

After dinner went to Mr Ames & shewd lre reced from Bro^r James.⁴⁰ In even^g went to William's sale & bo^l some books & was somewhat vexed.

Went home at 8 & near 9 went up to the Lamb⁴¹ & was in company there with Mr Harry Durbin⁴² Mr Eaton & Mr Haynes – Mr Rouquet was there some part of the time.

I staid there 'till p 11 when nothing material happened & then came home with Mr Durbin. Tomor^o the children are to be put out somewhere.

Sunday, Jan[ua]ry 10, 1762

'twas late when I went to bed last night & late when I rose this morn^g. The affair at the Lamb has occasion'd my keep^g late hours sometime past & has put me much out of course.

Went to St Werb^{ghs} in foren^o & staid at home all the aftern^o and even^g. Lord have mercy on me as I stand in need.

Monday, [January] 11th, [1762]

Rose ab^l 7 at 9 went to Mr Eaton & ye Lamb & found that the children were yesterday removed to a house of Mr Lowdins at no 8 in Lowdins Court⁴³ & they crossed the water about the time that the litany was reading⁴⁴ pursuant to advice which some

³⁴ This had been erected 1710–11 at the centre of the north side of Queen Square, and it had within it the 90-foot Long Room.

³⁵ Pitman Scandrett Field*.

³⁶ Not identified.

³⁷ See James Williams*.

³⁸ William James*.

³⁹ Saltpetre, one of three key ingredients of gunpowder, imported into Bristol, either directly or via London (often through James Dyer*).

⁴⁰ James Dyer*.

⁴¹ Durbin (pp. 16–17) and in particular Eaton give more details of incidents this day, including Rouquet's* prayers.

⁴² Sometimes Dyer refers to Henry Durbin* as 'Harry'.

⁴³ Cornelius Lowdin was a cutler, who lived opposite the Pelican (see 3/8) in St Thomas Street in 1762, and went bankrupt in May 1767; he may be the Lowdin 'cornbroker and auctioneer' listed at 125 Bedminster in 1775. Durbin says that the house was in the Great Garden in Temple parish and furnished with Lowdin's goods. The name of the 'court' suggests Lowdin had developed it, but it may have been William Lowdin, presumably a relative, who had owned a glasshouse on Redcliffe Backs where Benjamin Lund had produced soft-paste porcelain 1749–52. In 1775 2 names are listed in 'Lowden's Court' – Edward Foxall cooper at no 2 and Elizabeth Smith widow at no 7.

⁴⁴ Durbin (p. 17) says they moved at 11 a.m; presumably it was thought the church service would offer some protection.

persons had given them. – call'd at Father Davis's. Went to off: & staid there &c 'till 2. – after dinner visited poor Bro^r John who appears not far from the gates of death. Visited Mr Giles's children & had the satisfaction to find they have had not any thing of their tormentor since being at their new habitation.

Drank tea at Mrs Marstons new habitation where they are very lately remov'd to. Went to off & staid 'till near 8. then visited ye children in Lowdins Court. I look upon it as exceed^s providential that this house was proposed to them it being without their seek^s after it & it is ready furnished to their hands.

Tuesday, Jan[ua]ry 12, 1762

Rose near 8. Went to off: p 9 visited Mo^r Davis &c went to Aldermⁿ Laroches – & at off &c 'till 2. After din^r visited Mr Giles's children in comp^a with Mr Eaton. then to off: . Afterw^{ds} at Brewh^o:⁴⁵ called on Mo^r & drank tea at Sis^r Hop^s then to off & st^d 'till p 7. the Committee⁴⁶ met consist^s of Mr Elton, Ames, Baugh, Miller Deane, Wansey.

Afterw^{ds} went to sale of books & staid 'till 9 and was greatly deceived in the purchase of a book at last. May I learn wisdom!

Wednesday, [January] 13, [1762]

Rose p 7 visited my little patients in Lowdin's Court: Went to Mr Eaton's & to the Lamb. Afterwards to Mr Browns. Called on Mr Mills at the Bush⁴⁷ & got rid of the book I foolishly bou^l last night. I staid on Change &c 'till 2 this aftern^o and Mrs Elmes Mrs Giles and children paid us a visit. Last night Bro^r Ja^s unexpectedly arrived at Bro^r Jno^s from Lond^o & that on a disagreeable errand poor Bro^r J's affairs being very bad.⁴⁸ Spent the even^s with Bro^r Ja^s at Bro^r Jno^s in comp^a wth Capⁿ Phillips⁴⁹ a gentⁿ who sets out with him this night at 12 o'clock: in a post chaise.

⁴⁵ In the Old Market. In February 1760, at Isaac Elton's* request, Dyer 'first modelled and superintended his brewery accounts by examining and calling over the entries' made by the new clerk Charles Brown*. Brown worked there until at least 1778, and Dyer clearly continued to supervise the accounts closely, calling in on 59 days.

⁴⁶ The partners in the two gunpowder companies that formed the United Company (see introduction) met each Tuesday fortnight in the evening to discuss the business. Elton*, Ames* and Miller* formed the Littleton company; Baugh*, Deane* and Wansey* (and sometimes Worgan*) the Woolley company.

⁴⁷ This may be Thomas Mills (the grandfather of Lord Macaulay through his daughter Selina), who was a bookseller, initially in Bath. In 1765 he published a collection of hymns for Lady Huntingdon's Chapel in Bristol, where he was also a preacher and clerk, although he did not move his bookselling business to Bristol until 1773, when he took over the shop of Samuel Edwards, associated with Whitefield's* Tabernacle (see 16/4). Mills was attracted to the same mystic writers as Dyer, and published works by or about Boehme (see 10/12), Law*, Guion and later Swedenborg; he was also attracted to the Quakers and applied for membership in 1778, though he was refused full membership and then disowned by them in 1789. In 1774 Dyer edited Guion's *Worship of God in Spirit and Truth* for Mills to publish in 1775. See 6/1 for the Bush Tavern.

⁴⁸ See 31/1 for John Dyer's* bankruptcy.

⁴⁹ Perhaps also the Capt Phil... who 'blusters' at Dyer in the undated entries from 17/21–December below. In 1775 a George Phillips 'captain of the Polly' lived at 33 Queen Square.

Thursday, [January] 14th, [1762]

Lay in bed 'till p 8. Visited ye childⁿ in Lowdins Court. then up in town went to Bro^r Jno^s also at off: &c 'till p 2. Mr Eaton came home with me and he went to visit ye children. after din^r went to Bro^r Jno^s & settled acco^t with him. & can't help bearing part of his burthen – went to off at 5. Call'd at Mr Browns. Drank tea. Mr Symes's Mas^r Dickey⁵⁰ had a bad fall while I was there. Went to off: & st^d 'till 8 then home.

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 15, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & p 8 visited the children and was informed their malicious adversary⁵¹ had found them out. Mrs Elmes is confident she heard a thumping at 7 done with a fist in some part of the room. & the nurse heard a scratching underneath her head. But the children seem not yet to be affected.

p 9 set out for Littleton & was somewhat vexed at observ^s she was blind in one of her eyes proceed^s (as I suppose) from a blow & I charged the hostler therewith but he denies it.

Ret^d home p 12 dined & went to off: afterwards went to Mr Searles & sent for Hobby⁵² & electrified her eye with my small machine.⁵³ p 3 went to Brewho: & std 'till 5. Drank tea with mother: called at Bro^r Jno^s then to off. p 7 call'd on Geo Bush: then visited Mr Giles's children & home. They have seen something more of the witch's pranks this afterⁿ a handbrush being throw'd from the stairs down into the parlour.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 16, 1762

Rose ab^t 7. p 8 went to Mr Eatons ye Lamb and to Mo^r Davis who is much indisposed. Ab^t 10 at off & st^d there &c 'till 2. after din^r went again to Mo^r Davis & carried a medicine.⁵⁴ P 5 at off and st^d 'till p 7 then to Bro^r Jno^s. visited Mr Giles's children. then home.

Sunday, [January] 17, [1762]

Rose ab^t 8 went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & afterⁿ & spent even^s at home.

Monday, Jan[ua]ry 18, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 at 9 visited Mr Giles's child[ren] then up in town. visited Mr Symes staid at off: &c 'till 2 – p 3 at off:.. Afterw^{ds} at Mr Baugh's and carr^d him cash for a bill

⁵⁰ Richard, son of Rev. Richard Symes*.

⁵¹ Durbin (p. 17) reports that knockings/tattoes had been happening since the 12th, but does not report 'pinching' until the 17th or hairbrushes thrown until 19th.

⁵² A hobby is a small horse used for ambling rather than riding, and Dyer had shared the costs of keeping the mare Hobby with Rev. James Brown* since 18 May 1761; she was old and had problems with her eyes and they made various efforts to sell her from July 1761 onwards, finally selling her for four guineas in January 1763.

⁵³ See introduction for Dyer's use of electricity for medical purposes.

⁵⁴ See introduction for Dyer's medical activities.

reced from ye bank – st^d at off: ‘till 6 then went to Palmers⁵⁵ & from then[ce] accompanied Mr Symes to Mr Pennys & spent the even^g there – Mrs Daniell⁵⁶ supped with AD. p 10 home.

Tuesday, Jan[ua]ry 19, 1762

Rose ab^t 8 – visited ye children call’d on Mr W^m Hopkins: then to off: & staid there &c ‘till 2 – staid at home all ye afterⁿ. Mr Giles’s 2 children came on a visit – p 6 at off & st^d ‘till 8.

Mr Baugh informed me that his footman Jn^o was seiz^d with the small pox.⁵⁷

Wednesday, Jan[ua]ry 20, 1762

Poor AD was very ill, early this morn^g w^{ch} occasion’d lying in bed late this morn^g – p 9 went up in town. Staid at off &c ‘till 2. Visited Mother Davis this morn^g – after dinner went to mothers: ab^t 5 home. ret^d to off: & st^d ‘till p 7

This day Robert has been assist^g poor Bro^r Jn^o.

This even^g Mr & Mrs Marston spent at our house. He has been near 3 weeks unemployed w^{ch} seems to proceed from the ill will of his master

I find Miss Giles’s & the nurse were last night visited by their infernal guest who pinch’d ye children & gave the nurse a grasp on her arm near the shoulder – since writ^g the above I find ‘twas not properly a grasp but ye nurse only felt a large hand laid flat on her arm & instantly went off again.

Thursday, Jan[ua]ry 21, 1762

I have been much disturbed in a dream tonight about ye witchcraft concern^g Mr Giles’s children but cannot recollect the particulars.⁵⁸ upon enquiry I find ye children have been very much persecuted by their adversary today.⁵⁹ Mrs Elmes informs me Polley was struck a hard blow on the side of her head. & as she was sew^g on the neck gusset of a shirt the said gusset was suddenly snatched away by an invisible power & the same has not been seen since.

Mrs Elmes had a knitting needle snatched out of a stocking w^{ch} she was knitting which needle cannot to be found since – This evening between 7 & 8 I went to the children where was also Mr Giles and Mr Bull.⁶⁰ Where Polley was pinched twice in the neck & the indentures of a small nail were visible both times. Polley was struck against her side once or twice & once when she was puting a cup of table beer to her

⁵⁵ See John Palmer*. This was Dyer’s favourite bookshop.

⁵⁶ In 1766 Dyer recorded the death of Mrs Daniell in St James Square, widow of Mr Daniell a Quaker and ‘iron merchant of great repute’. See also 17/3 and 2/7.

⁵⁷ See 28/1 and 30/1.

⁵⁸ See introduction for Dyer’s views on dreams.

⁵⁹ Durbin (pp. 17–18) reports blows to the head on 19th and 20th and some of the details here about pins and the gauze cap, but not the others. Dyer’s extracted diary confirms that the voice said ‘well good night to you’, as does Durbin.

⁶⁰ Presumably Giles’s partner James Bull* rather than John Bull, clothier, who employed Dyer to help straighten the affairs of Henry Allen* when he was deranged in 1760; in 1775 John and Francis Bull were clothiers in Redcross Street.

mouth, her elbow was suddenly jerked up – Betsey Giles⁶¹ was stooping down before the fire with her head opposite the fire & Polley stand^s just behind when suddenly the latter was push'd against the former whereby her head was bruised against the barr of the grate, but no other harm happend. Once Polley cried out a pin was pricking her leg near ye ancle & upon examination we found a crocked pin stuck into the stocking which I took out & brought away with me. I staid 'till near 9 which was sometime after Mr Giles and Bull went home and they took Doppey with them. & ¼ hour before my departure Polley cried out she was pinched in her neck and a voice spoke in her ear those words “well go[od] night to ye” which was ye last transaction I saw that even^s.

Mrs Elmes told me that the witch had tore Polleys cap on her head today vizt a bla[ck] gauze cap w^{ch} was rent in 2 places at ye back part of her head, 4 inches long each – Mrs Elmes told me a chair was once throw'd down suddenly today. Also a small round table was once over set by an invisible hand.

They saw likewise a net contain^s worsted &c which lay in a window in the stair case 10 or 12 feet from where any person stood move or rather lifted up as if going to be flung at them, but it was not throw'd as was expected.

This morn^s Mrs Stokes ye Brewers wife⁶² came to be electrised. Mr Badderly breakfasted with us – call'd on Mr Brown – went to Mr Eaton's & Mo^r Davis's – staid at off: &c 'till 1 then home & at 2 sat out for Hungroad magazine⁶³ & ret'd home at 5 then to off & st'd 'till p 7.

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 22, 1762

Rose ab' 7 & at 9 sat out for Litⁿ & ret'd home at 1. Went to off & staid 'till 2 where was a womⁿ who has waited for me to be electrified & afterw^d came Mrs Stokes wth some company for the same purpose.

After din^r went up in town call'd at Williams's and Evans's⁶⁴ then to off: & near 5 home & staid all the even^s having the company of my friends Mr & Mrs Symes Mr Brown & Mr Badderly.

I visited my little friends 2 or 3 times to day & reced the follow^s account from Mrs Elmes vizt that Polley was not molested by her enemy all ye night after its wish^s her “good night” as mentioned yester^y even^s.

But that Doppey, who was taken home last night by way of tryal, was persecuted very much this morn^s & receiv'd one bite which fetch'd the blood. & there was prodigious rapping & thumping at her beds head. But none of this happened 'till 7 o'clock this morn^s – that about 11 o'clock this morn^s Polley said to her grandmamma “don't you hear somthing breathing” to which she replied “no” & immediately she

⁶¹ Betsey, aged 7, was not affected directly at any time.

⁶² Not identified.

⁶³ Hungroad was the inner anchorage of sea vessels on the Avon, upriver from Pill. In September 1751 gunpowder had been moved from Tower Harratz (in case a search was made there) to 'a house next to a publick house at Hungroad of Capt Buckley's' and then in 1756, after the problems at Tower Harratz (see 8/1) all the powder was removed to a lighter at Hungroad, then to a house at Ham Green near Hungroad. Although the Fulligrove magazine (see 5/3) became the main repository shortly after that, the Hungroad magazine was clearly kept on.

⁶⁴ Williams, Evans and co, tobacconists and snuffmakers, were at 33 Maryport Street in 1775. See also 11/12.

had a violent pinch or rather deep indenture as if done with a large nail on her shoulder. & this breath^s Polley says resembles that of a dog or some living creature after it had run almost out of breath.⁶⁵ & 'tis probable the witch was that instant come into the room & left tormenting her sister Doppy who was not yet come from her fathers. But she soon after came.

This even^s while I was present Polley cried out 'twice that she was prick'd in her elbow & on examin^s each time a crooked pin was found stick in her shift with the point towards the skin one of which I took out myself & the other was taken out by another person. Afterwards the same child complain'd of being prick'd in her back & her stays being unlaced (as had just before been preparing for bed it being near 10 o'clock) I found a crooked pin stuck into her gown in the small of her back just in the part of the opening of her stays⁶⁶ which was unlaced with the point inward as the others above mentio.. which I took out myself & have preserved them all. This even^s I was informed they were boyling Polleys urine in a crucib.. over a slow fire & she herself with a sharp knife was employed in stiring or rather cuting it by way of experiment to torment the witch⁶⁷ in which time Polley was once violently pushed against Mrs Beezer the nurse & another time her hand which held the knife in stir^s the urine was suddenly jerked up. & after the urine was evaporated Polleys cap was seized as if by 2 hands taking hold of the 2 rents which were made yesterday & tore much worse than it was before. those are the most remarkable circumstances which has occured today.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 23, 1762

At p 9 visited my little friends in ye court & staid an hour while an experiment was tryed of boyling the child's urine but it did not seem to have any visible effect.⁶⁸ They gave me 2 crooked pins which had been stuck into some part of Polleys cloaths this morn^s & while I was there she was once pricked in the powl of her head & on examin^s I found a crooked pinn entangled in her hair w^{ch} I took out myself with some difficulty & another time she was pricked in her leg near the ankle w^{ch} was also done with a crooked pinn & I likewise took out. Mrs Elmes inform'd me that this morn^s they had much scratch^s in the childrens bed & Mrs Elmes asked the follow^s questions⁶⁹ of the daemon: "If thou art a witch scratch 3 times & no more, w^{ch} was immediately complied with in the affirmative 2dly. "If thou dost belong to a wagg... scratch 5 times & no more, w^{ch} was immediately done 3dly If thou dost drive a waggon scratch 3 times & no more, w^{ch} was likewise comply'd with.

Polley thereupon said If thou are the woman which appeared to us when we were going to the little house,⁷⁰ scratch 5 times & no more, w^{ch} was immediately answered

⁶⁵ Durbin (p. 18) has a shorter account of this.

⁶⁶ Polley's stays seem to have fascinated Dyer: see 14–15/4. Dyer omits this in his extracted diary for Brown. Durbin reports pulling a pin out of her back (p. 18).

⁶⁷ See above 2/1. Durbin omits this information, as does Dyer in his extracted diary for Brown.

⁶⁸ Again omitted by Durbin and by Dyer in his extracted diary for Brown

⁶⁹ Durbin (pp. 18–19) states that 'this was the first time of asking any questions', reporting only the first question as 'Art thou a witch', and then noting 'By asking questions this morning it answered that Mr ***** had employed it. Mrs Elmes and the children heard it cry out, "*Jee woah*", as waggons used to say in driving horses.' See William James* and below 25/1 for more on the waggoner.

⁷⁰ The privy.

as before. But this is evidently a lying spirit, because there is no woman who drives a waggon as we know of.

Those are the chief occurrences w^{ch} have happened today, except that a knocking was once heard in the stairs & Polley received an indenture as if done with a very large nail. & her cap has also been rent or tore on her head – this even^s she was also pricked in her leg & Mr Harry Durbin being present as well as myself took out ye pinn from her leg. This day a very odd affair is related in the publick papers w^{ch} has lately happened in Lond.. somewhat simular to the above.⁷¹ I was this morn^s urged by Mr Barrat⁷² & Parson Barry⁷³ give some acco^t of Mr Giles's children, but they seem resolved to disbelieve.

Staid at off &c 'till 2. after din^r went to Brewho: Drank tea with Rachell at her own little hovell where she arrived last Thursday⁷⁴ – p 6 at off: & p 7 home & afterwards visited the children as above.

Sunday, Jan[ua]ry 24, 1762

This morn^s visited my little friends in the court & met Mr Harry Durbin there also – the same cap w^{ch} Polley had on yesterday was this morn^s just before we came rent & tore much worse than it was before. While we were present she was pricked twice – & each time a very crooked pinn was found sticked in the part one of w^{ch} Mr Durbin took out & pocketed, the other I took out which was sticked in her stocking near the ancle – Mrs Elmes inform'd us they had a conference with their adversary this morn^s between 7 & 8 while the children were in bed⁷⁵ – They heard it was in the room by several scratches which were heard in the childrens bed – Mrs Beezer the nurse asked if it knew her to answer by a certain number of scratches w^{ch} it did exactly. She also enquired whither it was hired by any person to torment those children & if it was to make a certain number of scratches which she mentioned, & it was done immediately – she likewise asked how many weeks it intended to torment those children which it answered by a number of scratches. But they were not certain of the exact number one of the children says she told 40, but seem'd not positive. Polly asked the daemon

⁷¹ For the Cock Lane ghost, see 18/2. When in London in July 1763 Dyer met 'Mr Langcake [see 3/4] and Mr Bray in Hosier Lane the latter being a principal in the Cock Lane affair, similar to that of poor Giles's children'. He probably means the London papers, as the first reference to the Cock Lane episode in *FFBJ* is the following Saturday, when a sceptical account appears, but we do not have the issues of *Bristol Journal* for these weeks.

⁷² Possibly William Barrett (1733–1789), surgeon and historian of Bristol: see *ODNB* entry. Dyer was one of many Bristolians named here (including Henry Durbin* and Richard Symes*) who subscribed in 1788 to Barrett's *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* printed by Pine* in 1789.

⁷³ William Barry was curate of St James in 1752, and rector of St Peters from March 1757 to his death in June 1781.

⁷⁴ In Maiden Court off Marlborough Street in St James.

⁷⁵ Durbin and Dyer both report the question and reply about 40 weeks of torment, but otherwise their accounts are different, though both question the reliability of the answers to questions, Durbin (pp. 19–20) reporting 'I said to Mrs Elmes that its answer ought not to be depended on, as it might put it on an innocent person', at which Durbin and those in the room heard 'distinctly' a 'laugh ha! Ha! Ha! Like a hollow shrill voice in a place where it echoes'. Durbin also reports other questions asked by the nurse, including 'if it lived without Lawford's Gate' and 'Mrs – said in haste "She is a liar, don't ask the lying old whore any more questions"' (it had answered before it was a *woman* witch) it answered aloud, for them all to hear, "no more than yourself; kiss my a—" and they heard her smack her bottom aloud several times'.

whither she was the woman who gave her a pinn at the door 2 or 3 months ago. If she was to answer by such a number of scratches. But there was no answer given.

Several other questions were asked by Mrs Elmes & the nurse which were also answered but as 'tis a lying spirit there is no credit to be given thereto.

Went to St Werbth foren^o & aftern^o visited Mo^r Davis & also Bro^r Jn^o. Spent the even^g at home.

Monday, Jan[ua]ry 25, 1762 Fair Day

This morn^g rose p 6 & at ½ past 7 visited the children where was Mr Durbin before me & the witch was there, which was manifested by scratches in ye childrens bed. The follow^g questions were asked while I was present.⁷⁶ Vizt

"How many p[er]sons are in the room answer 7 (with scratches) w^{ch} was right.

"If she mov'd the waggon in the yard when the sack of flower fell out of it – make a certain num^r of scratches – w^{ch} was exactly answered

"If William James who keeps the wagons⁷⁷ – hired her – make such a num^r of scratches – w^{ch} was exactly answered.

"How many guineas were given you to torment the children – ans^r ten by scratches

"If Mr James himself gave the ten guineas – ans^r yes

"If she could appear to us – no answer

"How many weeks was she permitted to torment those children – answer forty

"From this time – yes

NB this seems as if the contract was for 12 months from the beginning – 'tis remarkable that Mr Giles & Mr James had a very severe quarrel some time ago. & about the time that Mr Giles engaged with the Lond^o flying waggons⁷⁸ the children were first afflicted – the said engagement gave Mr James very great offence.

"are you p[er]mitted to torment any other p[er]son of the family besides those children – ans^r no

"can you afflict those children if removed to another place – no

"do you live in Mangotsfield parish – yes

"Have you an husband – no

"are you a widow – yes

"have you any children – no answer

"Tell us your name – no answer⁷⁹

This evening I attended there again with my wife about 9 o'clock & when ye children were in bed she began scratch^s But when we entered the room it ceased. However after sometime it scratched tho' very sparingly.

I asked How many p[er]sons were in the room – ans^r 7– right

⁷⁶ Although Durbin also reports this session of questions (pp. 20–1), he lists the questions in a very different order, omitting many given by Dyer but adding 4 others, namely, "'If thou didst this of thine own malice" [no]', "'If any of Mr Giles's family or servants were concerned" [no]', "'If Mr ***** alone has hired thee" [yes]', "'If it was thee that stopped Mr Giles's waggon on Hanham Hill, when he was obliged to put on ten horses before he could move it" [yes]' (Durbin notes 'Mr Giles paid 51 penalty for halling with so many horses') . For the sack of flour in the yard see 9/2.

⁷⁷ See introduction and William James*.

⁷⁸ See introduction and Richard Giles*.

⁷⁹ See 26/1, 9/3 and Elizabeth Hemmings*.

Dost thou know my name – yes

How many lres are in my surname – no ans^r

How many children hath Mr Giles – ans^r 8 – right

“art thou p[er]mitted to injure the childrens health – ans^r yes

“art thou permitted to take away their life? no ans^r

“Was it thou that pinched my finger at Mr Eatons⁸⁰ – ans^r yes

“What day in Decem^r was it – no ans^r

“What day in the week was it – reckoning Mond^y the first no answer

“Dost thou live in the town of Mangotsfield – yes

“Art thou permitted to come here every day & every night in the week – yes

“How many letters are there in Mr James’s surname – ans^r five

“How many lres in his Xtian name vizt. William – ans^r seven

“art thou permitted to torment those children worse than thou has already – ans^r yes

What hour wilt thou come tomor^o morn^g – ans^r six

“What age is Polley – ans^r 13 – right

“What age is Doppey – ans^r 8 – right

“Does Mr James enquire at any time whither thou dost torment the children – ans^r

yes

NB the above ans^{rs} were made with scratches but the witch seem’d more backward this even^g in her ans^{rs} than the morn^g & probably it is a lying spirit & therefore the above answers entirely false.

At 8 this morn^g went to Brewho: from thence to Mr Symes’s. then to off & st^d ‘till 2. p 4 at Brewho. Drank tea with mother then to Rachells & read coppys of 2 letters w^{ch} were wrote by our d^r friend Mrs S:⁸¹ to Miss Braine.

then to off & at 8 home.

Tuesday, [January] 26, [1762]

Rose this morn^g ¼ before 6 hav^g been awake ever since 3 –

Step’d to the court but they did not rise ‘till 7 nor did the witch trouble them ‘till that time, altho’ it said it would at 6 – Mr Eaton & I met there this morn^g & the follow^g questi.. were asked by myself⁸² vizt

“How many persons are there in the room – no answer

“Do you know me – yes

“Do you know ye age of every person present – yes

“What is my age – no answer

“What is your Xtian name

When I mention the first letter thereof make 3 scratches – this question was put several times but no answer. I repeated some letters of the alphabet & at E she ans^d. I conjectured Eliz^a & then asked her surname by the same method. But no reply. I asked her age But no ans^r ‘till after several times urging it when she thought proper to reply 43 –

I enquired how long she had practised witchcraft – ans^r 14 years – I told only 13 but Mr Eaton said ‘twas 14

⁸⁰ See Dyer’s diary extracts for Brown and his epitomised diary, both for 15 December 1761.

⁸¹ Rebecca Scudamore*

⁸² See 9/2 for a fuller version of these questions.

How many witches are there in the village of Mangotsfield this question was several times put, but no ans^r. at last she thought proper to make I believe 50 scratches in ans^r to said questⁿ but she did them so fast that we could not count them.

This even^g I went there again & Mr Harry Durbin came with some company but the witch wou'd not act

Mrs Elmes informed me that Doppey had two large bites on her arm today with much saliva all round the indentures of the teeth. & her arm I saw was of a livid colour in the part where were those bites Polley was likewise bit once or twice – She attempted to knit today but the knitting kneedles were drawn out & throw'd under the grate.

The ribbon was pulled off Doppeys cap several times today – this Mrs Elmes affirmed was done about 12 o'clock at noon & they have been pretty quiet ever since.

Mr Eaton breakfas^d with us – visited Mo^r Davis – p 10 at off & std 'till 2. after din^r went to off – drank tea with Sis^r Hop^s The committee met this even^g consisting of Mess^{rs} Elton, Ames, Baugh Miller, Deane, Wansey. p 8 went to Lowdins Court & home.

Wednesday, Jan[ua]ry 27, 1762

This morn^g I was informed that last night the children were bit on their arms several times after we went away. But Mr Harry Durbin & Mrs Durbin in Temple Street & Miss Kitty Durbin were present.⁸³

This even^g p 8 I call'd up them & the children has been out on a visit all day & quite free from their adversary all the time & ever since their return 'till just after I came in when Polley was pinch'd in her leg & soon afterwards had a crooked pinn very oddly crooked stuck with the point towards her back as near ye middle of her back as possible & at the very top of her stays which pinn I took out myself. She had also one or two pinches or rather indentures of only one nail in her back just above the top of the stays.

Rose this morn^g p 7 went to Delpratts⁸⁴ p 9 then to Brewho: & at 11 at off: & st^d 'till 2. after dinner went to off – drank tea at home. p 6 visited Rachell & left Marsays discourses⁸⁵ for our d^r friend Mrs S – then to Brewho: & home at 8.

Thursday, [January] 28th, [1762]

Rose ab^t 7 Mr Eaton call'd in this morn^g he hav^g visited the children this & nothing material has ocured since last night therefore I declined going this morn^g. p 9 went up in town.

⁸³ Durbin (p. 21) records that 'several ladies' were present. The former was the wife of his brother John and mother of John Durbin*; the latter his sister Kitty*.

⁸⁴ See William Delpratt* and 2/2 and 6/2.

⁸⁵ *Discourses on Subjects relating to the Spiritual Life* (Edinburgh, 1749) by Charles Hector de Saint George, marquis de Marsay (1688–1753). In Scudamore's* biography (p. 28) is a letter of 22 February 1762 to an unnamed friend, thanking the person for the loan of the discourses, and see 6/2 and 22/2 below for clear evidence that this was Dyer (who edited the book). Dyer had been recommended Marsay's discourses by Rev Fowler Comings (1728–92) in the 1750s, and later he records that Thomas Mills (see 13/1) was lent a manuscript life of 'the celebrated Marsay' by the mystic Ralph Mather 'in bad English which I attempted to amend by preserving its original meaning. It contains much of interesting matter'.

Robert this morn^s went to Newport⁸⁶ in an errand for poor JD & ret^d home this afternoon

Staid at off 'till 2 Mr Ames & Mr Worgan came there & the former staid & spoke to me about JD & Cor^s Rog^{s87}

After din^r ret^d to off: at 5 home. Afterw^{ds} at Brewho: & p 7 call'd on JD & reced Hoskins's note⁸⁸ hand for 14:17 w^{ch} if pd will ball^a B A Co debt.⁸⁹

This even^s p 8 went to Mrs Elmes's but the children were gone to bed & she informed me 3 clergymen were above stairs. Vizt Mr Seyers, Price & Chapman together Mr Hen^y Durbin & two other gentlemen – & therefore I made no stay –

This day I hear poor John Mr Baugh's footman is dead in the small pox –

'Tis also reported that Mr Eltons son is dead in the same disorder.⁹⁰

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 29, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 – on enquiry this morn^s I find ye clergymen's curiosity was not satisfied last night nor has anything happened all this day – the children were again at Mr Durbins on Redclift Hill⁹¹ all this day.

At 8 set out for Litⁿ & ret^d home near 1 went to off: where was Mr A^s who again conversed ab^t poor JD & I informed him of hav^s secured ye Comp^s debt

This aftern^o Mrs Allison & Miss Walkr⁹² visited my wife –

p 3 went to Mr A^s with our dra¹⁹³ on Hale & Madderne⁹⁴ w^{ch} I reced from Mr Miller.

Then to Brewho: & st^d 'till 5. then home. Afterw^{ds} visited Mrs Elmes then to off & at 8 home.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 30, 1762

This even^s ye Rev^d Mr Brown & I visited my little friends in ye Court where we met Mr Harry Durbin Mr James Smith,⁹⁵ & Mr Jn^o Dyer of the Custom House⁹⁶ past 8

⁸⁶ The attempt to get Thomas Fryer of Newport to honour a debt to John Dyer* is referred to below on 12–13/3, 27/3, 29–30/3, 7–8/4.

⁸⁷ Corsley Rogers. There were two generations of Corsley Rogers, Quaker grocers and merchants. The older had died in 1761, while Corsley junior died in May 1779; his letters to Edward Pye Chamberlain 1755–6 are in BCL 19717.

⁸⁸ See 6/4 below for Benjamin Hoskins, who may be the man who attends the Lamb Inn with various Durbins on 1/2.

⁸⁹ 'Baugh, Ames and co' was the official name of the gunpowder partnership. As the 29/1 entry makes clear, by transferring Hoskins' credit note to John Dyer* into the company's name, Dyer ensured that his brother's debts to the company were secured.

⁹⁰ See 24/3 for the deaths of Isaac Elton's* sons.

⁹¹ As this visit is not recorded in Henry Durbin's narrative, this presumably refers to Edward Durbin* – see also 1/2.

⁹² Dyer's epitomised diary identifies her as 'the niece of Mr Sanders in Great Garden'. She lodged with the Allisons* until she left Bristol 1764. She may have been related to Rev. Samuel Walker* of Truro.

⁹³ A written order for payment of money or withdrawing of money from a stock.

⁹⁴ William Hale and Robert Madderne were Virginia merchants and linendrapers in King Street, but Hale died in February 1762 and Madderne went bankrupt in December 1764, his chief creditor being the apothecary William Dyer*. See below 7/7, 4/8 and 11/12.

⁹⁵ See 2/1.

⁹⁶ John Dyer (c. 1696–1780) was a searcher at the Customs House, living at 24 Trinity Street in 1775. He was one of the original trustees of the New Room (see 21/3) for John Wesley in 1745, and is recorded again as the first named trustee in 1767.

o'clock. we waited 'till ye children were put to bed, soon after w^{ch} were heard a violent noise above stairs & immediately ran up where we found a chair throw'd down, w^{ch} was done with violence & it frightened ye nurse pretty much. We went down & soon after another chair was thrown down. We all waited sometime in the room & interrogated the daemon several times but it gave no answer. The children complained of being pinch'd in their thighs & sometime their belly several times. & afterwards Doppey was twice bit on her back between the shoulders, the first was a dry bite without any spittle, but the second was accompanied with spittle – then Polley complained of being bit on her left shoulder w^{ch} was towards the outside of the bed (& therefore could not be done by her sister) then she complained of being bit on her left arm & while we were all inspecting it with the candle held near that arm, she complain'd of being bit on the other arm which upon instantly inspecting we saw very plain & the impression of teeth were very deep. We all remained sometime in the room expecting to hear some scratching but it wou'd not act any otherwise than pinching the children very frequently & sometimes I really thought both were pinch'd at the same time – they all agreed to go down stairs & leave me alone with ye children & a candle burning in the room. I kept my eyes fix'd on the bed but observed no sort of motion there except that of the children when occasionally turning them selves in the bed. But the gentlemen had not been gone down many minutes before a violent scratching as if done with iron tallons was made in the bed. at one time it seemed at the foot of the bed below the childrens feet & then between the 2 children. So soon as the company came upstairs again the scratching ceased – at one time we all went down & sent up the nurse to stay with the children – & then I went up alone & sent down the nurse I slap'd both my hands together pretty loud several times & I very distinctly heard a smacking of 2 hands together several times as if done in answer to me & the same appeared to be behind Doppey whos face was turned towards me & her sister was lying before her & I saw no motion in the bed when that smacking was made. which could not have been possibly done by either child without a visible motion. & those bites on Doppeys back while she lay on the back cou'd not be possibly done by either of the children themselves. Mr Brown afterwards prayed & then we left them at ½ p10 & they appeared very quiet.

This morn^g Mr Baugh gave me an acco^t of his man John who appeared to make an happy end – at p 8 went to Brewho: & st^d 'till 10 then to off & at 2 home p 4 at off at 5 home

Mr Brown & Mrs Giles drank tea with us – & at p 8 Mr Brown & I visited the children as above. Mr Brown read to my wife & I a remarkable acc^{ot} of the conversion of a nobleman a general in the King of Pollands service just before his death

[note in another hand: Possibly this was General Dyhern]⁹⁷

⁹⁷ The narrative of the conversion of George Charles Dyhern (a Saxon nobleman and general in the service of the King of Poland, killed at the battle of Bergen in 1750), written by Johann Philipp Fresenius, was first published in French in 1760 as *Le Triomphe de la Verité sur l'Incredulité*, and later appeared in German. In 1796 Dyer noted that the editor Bonner had inserted in the *Bristol Journal* 'a letter found among papers of late Mrs Bowles mother of Mrs Symes [Anne Symes, Richard Symes'* daughter-in-law]' about General Dyhern's 'extraordinary conversion' and in 1799 this was included as an annex to a selection of William Law's writings published in Bristol, namely *A Compendious View of Genuine Christianity, chiefly extracted from an Author of the Last Century, and a Much Esteemed Writer of the Present; shewing the difference between the primitive and modern Christians: and the causes thereof. To which is annexed an interesting manuscript, found among the papers of a lady deceased.*

Sunday Jan[uary] 31, [1762]

At 9 visited the children & was informed that after we left them last night the witch played her pranks by thumping most violently against the chamber floor & which shook the bed on which Mrs Elmes lay.

This day put up a note at St Werburghs for the children as I did also last Sunday after church.⁹⁸ In ye even^s mother came in tears on account of poor JD who it seems must shut up tomor^{o99}

This even^s visited Mr Symes call'd also on father who has been greatly affected on JD's acco^t but is now better

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 1, 1762

Rose before 6 – & near 8 went to Brewho: & from thence to mothers & visited poor JD p 10 went to off: where H Sweeting came & gave me some acco^t of JD's affairs – st^d at off & c^t 'till 2. After dinner went to off at 5 home then ret^d to off p 6 visited poor Rachel and st^d 'till 8 then went to Lowdins Court where were Mr Hen^y Durbin¹⁰⁰ Mr Edw^d Durbin Mr Hoskins Miss Kitty Durbin & c^t but the witch wou'd not show away while I was there tho' ye company saw some bites on Polleys arm before I went up stairs

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 2, 1762

Rose ab^t 7. Went to Brewho & st^d 'till 10 – call'd on Bro^r Jn^o then to off:.. afterw^{ds} home call'd on Mr White carpen^{r101} who came to view ye lumber at Tow^r Harratz. Set W^{m102} to chop up some part of the same. Call'd on Mrs Elmes, went to Mr Durbins in Temple Street¹⁰³ and reced interest for Helpful Soc^y.¹⁰⁴ p 12 at off & st^d 'till 2. p 3 went to Brewho: at 5 home – ret^d to off & st^d 'till 8. Yester^y I sent Ire to Delpratt & Pitⁿ Scand^t Field per Mr A^s order & ye former has in consequence thereof called twice on me today.

⁹⁸ See also 21/2. These notes may be the origin of the story that Symes*, rector of St Werburgh's, said prayers in church for 'two children grievously tormented', so greatly offending many who 'quit the church in disgust' (Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol*, vol. 3, p. 196).

⁹⁹ John Dyer's* grocer's business in Castle Street, established in 1759, had failed and one of his creditors, Samuel Brice, obtained a commission of bankruptcy, that is a commission raised by the Lord Chancellor appointing commissioners to administer a bankrupt's estate on behalf of the creditors (see 2/2 and 7/2). In addition to the diary, the course of this bankruptcy can be traced in notices in *FFBJ*. See 27 February for the sale by lots (by William Gaynor, broker) of the stock in trade of John Dyer grocer in Castle St at his dwelling house on Tuesday next (i.e. 2 March) at 10 am, and then on Monday 8 March his household goods, plate, china etc. On 3 April all those indebted to 'the estate of John Dyer late of Castle Street grocer' are to pay debts to Thomas Winwood at Messrs Brice and sons compter in Old Market. 4 September has another notice for demands on the estate of John Dyer, for which a dividend is shortly to be made. Demands should be sent to Brice's and all debtors are to pay at once or will be sued. Finally on 23 October creditors of John Dyer are informed that they can get their dividend from 25th instant from Brices.

¹⁰⁰ Durbin (p. 23) says that the children spent the day at his house.

¹⁰¹ Not identified.

¹⁰² Possibly 'their man William' whom Dyer mentions at his brother John's on 5/2.

¹⁰³ Henry Durbin's* brother John, a drysalter, and father of John Durbin*.

¹⁰⁴ See 6/1.

last night I find Mr Brice¹⁰⁵ sent for commission of bankruptcy for Bro^r Jn^o.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 3, 1762

Spent much time both morn^s & aftern^o at Brewho: but cannot find an error w^{ch} prevents ye account balanc^s.¹⁰⁶

Visited Bro^r Jn^o this aftern^o & his wife in ye even^s & she finds it hard work to give up all her household goods.¹⁰⁷ Afterw^{ds} went to Helpful Soc^y & then visited ye children: but there being much comp^y their persecutor would not shew any pranks except for 2 bites on Polleys arm – the witch has cut them today & last night as if done with ye back of a knife.¹⁰⁸

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 4, 1762

I have great part of this day had a cloud & fearful apprehensions on my mind. But I beg ye Lord to enable me to cast all my care upon him, pursuant to the advice of the apostle.¹⁰⁹

This aftern^o went to Mr Symes's with Mr Penny & spent the even^s there. Where we were entertained with some electrical experiments together with hear^s read Mr S's treatise 'on that subject'¹¹⁰ –

This aftern^o visited Mrs Elmes – also visited Bro^r Jn^o. Lord have mercy 'on us as we need.

This day at Change time I went to ye Nags Head¹¹¹ & proved our debt 40:15 on ye estate of Hollis Saunders¹¹² – some of ye lawyers were diverting themse.. about ye credulity of Mr Durbin & others in the affair of Mr Giles's children.¹¹³

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 5, 1762

Went this morn^s to Littleton as usual & ret^d home near 12 went to off: & afterw^{ds} Mr Ames & Mr Bright came up & Mr Giles happen'd also to come just after & they

¹⁰⁵ See 31/1. Samuel Brice and his son Edward were sugarbakers in Old Market (Edward was at 66 Old Market in 1775). Edward was sheriff in 1767 and 1775, and mayor in 1782, and partner in Richard Champion's pottery works in 1768.

¹⁰⁶ See 8/2, 13/2, 16–17/2.

¹⁰⁷ Dyer and the rest of his family did not get on with John's wife, who is never named in the diary. See 31/1 and 8–10/3 for the sale of the household goods.

¹⁰⁸ Durbin's account (p. 23) reports at length on knife-cuts on 2 February.

¹⁰⁹ This refers to 'casting all your care upon him' (1 Peter 5:7).

¹¹⁰ On 12 October 1761 Dyer records 'Mr Symes now read to me the MS he had written upon electricity (Fire Analyzed) and he put this MS into my hands in order to make any remarks thereon as might occur to my mind. I wrote the contents affixd at the beginning and also the titles to each chapter, submitting the same to him, all which he thought fit to adopt and accordingly were printed.' However, the volume was not actually published until a decade later, as *Fire Analyzed* (Bristol, 1771), following further editorial help from Dyer.

¹¹¹ A tavern at 63 Wine Street; by 1775 it had become a bank.

¹¹² Hollis Saunders was an Africa merchant living in Princes Street who went bankrupt in December 1759; a dividend on his estate as a bankrupt was announced in *FFBJ* 30 January 1762.

¹¹³ The first (extant) Bristol newspaper item on the Lamb Inn affair, a sceptical piece attacking the credulity of those like Durbin, appeared two days later in *FFBJ* 6 February 1762. The first recorded reference to it in a London paper also appeared in *Lloyd's Evening Post* on 5 February.

made enquiry concern^g ye children & treated what he or I related with the appearance of very little credibility.

This aftern^o visited Bro^r Jn^o & afterwards his wife also, who has poor woman been in a violent passion with their man William today, provoked thereto by some aggravating expressions of his –

Afterw^{ds} visited Rachell – Bro^r J: don't hear anything of ye comisⁿ being arrivd^{l14} perhaps his creditors may have some schemes in their heads, Lord have mercy on him as he stands in need.

This day the poor man Wates I think is his name from near Leigh^{l15} call'd with a couple of rabbits & offered a guinea by way of gratuity for ye benefit he reced from electric^y but ye latter I refused.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 6, 1762

Went to Brewho: this morn^s & call'd at fathers but Bro^r Jn^o was not stir^g hav^g had a bad nights rest poor man! I am full of thoughts concern^g him & his affairs.

Went to Mr Baugh & Miss Brodribb^{l16} made enquiry concern^g Mr Giles's children – my mind was much recollected in writing at the off. afterw^{ds} Mr B & Mr A consulted ab^t Delpratt^{l17} & intended going to severity but after din^r Mr A^s sent for me & gave Mr Delpratt's dra^t w^{ch} he reced of him or Mr Bright for £150

This day Mrs Elmes & her three granddaughters dined with us & staid the aftern^o they being to return home tomorrow –

This even^g Mr & Mrs Symes came: also Mr Eaton & p 8 went went [sic] to see ye children in bed: Mess^{rs} Camplin & Seyers were present & also several ladys – I saw 1 or two cuts or rather ridges on Polleys arm as if done with a piece of silk thread doubled or a piece of small pack thread. Likewise 2 or 3 bites – But the witch wou'd not act with freedom before so many persons – they left me alone in the room & then she began scratching & I asked 2 or 3 questions w^{ch} were answered by scratching^{l18} vizt.

Do you torment the child in Thomas Street (Mr Tudways child)^{l19} yes –
Have you been at Mr Tudways today. Yes –

^{l14} See 31/1 and 2/2.

^{l15} A road was made over Leigh Down in 1757 to aid travel to Pill (see 17/9).

^{l16} Miss Brodribb (c. 1728–1797) was a relative of Isaac Baugh* and probably the daughter of Isaac Brodribb, glover and woollendraper in the High Street, whose widow continued his business when he died in October 1762.

^{l17} Baugh* and Ames* (see 27/1).

^{l18} Dyer does not report any of these in his diary extracts for Brown.

^{l19} See Robinson Tudway* for his daughter Nancy (named on 8/2). Durbin (p. 24) reports asking on the fourth, "If it had any power to torment Mr. –'s daughter' and again on the fifth""if it did torment Mr. – 's daughter?" it scratched. Yes: and, "How many weeks before she would be cured?" it scratched four; and accordingly in a month she was cured, but left very weak. The doctor thought her incurable and would take no fees. She used to bark four or five times, and then crow somewhat like a young cock; turning her head from the right shoulder to the left, backwards and forwards twenty times, and yet her neck not swell. I have seen her tongue pulled, as it were, out of her mouth very long, then doubled down her throat; then after having rolled on the ground in great agony, she would go about the house, as usual, or sit and sew, barking and crowing all the time. She has continued very well ever since it stopped.' On the fourth Durbin also asked ""if any power over the son that died lately?" No.' This might possibly refer to the death of Isaac Elton's* son on 28 January.

How many weeks are you permitted to afflict this child – no answer
 Do you know ye gentlemen below stairs – yes
 How many are there below stairs – no answer
 How many are here in this room – three right
 We staid 'till 10 & then Mr Symes Mess^{rs} Camplin & Seyer & Mrs Symes rode home in a coach.

I met our d^r fr^d Mrs S: today who spake highly of Marsays discourses.¹²⁰

Sunday, Feb[rua]ry 7, 1762

Took my leave this morn^g of my little friends in Lowdins Court & they return'd home to the Lamb today.¹²¹

Call'd at fathers this morn^g & was informed the statute arriv'd last night¹²² & that this day Bro^r Jn^o was employed in taking acco^t of stock w^{ch} is to be deliv^d the creditors tomor^o.

Went to St Nich^s & sacra^t in foren^o & aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} visited Mother Davis & afterw^{ds} went to Mr Symes's & took my leave of him he being to set out for Lond^o tomor^o morn^g.

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 8, 1762

Rose before 6 & soon after went to ye Lamb where Mr Durbin came soon after. As soon as the children awaked we were called up the scratch^g hav^g begun

I asked the follow^g questions & desired to be ans^d by scratches as usual¹²³

"are you the witch herself – no ans^r

"are you her familiar – yes

"Do you torment Mr Tudways daughter Nancy – yes –

How many weeks since you began to afflict her – no ans^r

Are you p[er]mitted to take away her life – no ans^r

How many persons do you now afflict – ans^r six.

Do they all reside in Bristol no

How many of them lives in Bristol – ans^r four

Are any of them men – no

Are any of them women – no

Are any of them boys – no

Are they all girls – yes

How many weeks are you permitted to afflict Mr Giles's children from this time – ansr 38 – see ye acc^{ot} ye 24 u^{lto}?

¹²⁰ See 27/1.

¹²¹ Durbin (pp. 25–6) gives details of this move, caused 'as there were no hopes of being better by staying here; besides keeping two houses was expensive'. He also reports Molly telling him that 'when she came home it spoke to her and said "Now I have my full power" and then both she and Dobby were both cut till the blood came.'

¹²² See 31/1 above. A statute of bankruptcy is the process by which a person is declared bankrupt, while a statute merchant/staple is a bond by which creditors have power to hold debtor's lands in case of default on a debt.

¹²³ Durbin (p. 26) only records three of these questions, and also asking how old Mr [Tudway's] oldest daughter was (13).

She was likewise asked how many persons were in ye room & ye ans^r proved right
 I staid 'till ½ p 7 & then went to Brewho: & breakfas^d with mother & p 10 at off:
 in the afternoon went again to Brewhouse & begun calling over the whole years acco^{ts}
 in order to discover ye error w^{ch} prevents their balancing

This even^g I find poor Bro^r Jnⁿ meets his creditors

This day I met W^m Evans¹²⁴ & spoke to him concern^g his tak^g any of JDs goods.

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 9, 1762

Rose this morn^g before 6 & went to ye Lamb¹²⁵

I happen'd to be alone in the room with only Mrs Elmes Mrs Giles & the nurse ye
 children being in bed when I asked the follow^g questions desir^g to be ans^d by scratch^g
 as usual vizt

“Does our asking questions give you any ease – yes

“Are you one of the Devil's imps – yes

“Does the witch imploy any other imps besides your self – yes

“Are here good good spirits in the room at this time yes – doth these good sp^{ts}
 sometimes restrain you from torment^g those children more than otherwise you wou^d
 do – yes

Does the witch bite her own hands when the childrens hands are bit – no ans^r

Does the witch bite her own lips when you bite the children – yes

“Have you any men witches – yes

“Do they live in Mangotsfield parish – yes

“Do they live in the village of Mangotsfield – no ans^r

“How many years since the witch made a compact with the Devil – answer 12

Are you acquainted with Elizabeth Emming (alias Hemmings) in Mangotsfield –
 yes

How many years old is she – ans^r 43

Is she in compact with the Devil – yes

Is Eliz^a Emmings Mr Sartains sister¹²⁶ – yes

Some other questions were asked but ye daemon gave no answer.

Mrs Elmes inform'd me that early this morn^g Dopey was taken out of bed & put
 underneath the bed (every person in ye room being asleep) But Polley said something
 awoke her (a good spirit no doubt!). & upon feeling for her sister discovered she was
 gone. When they found her as above Dopey said she cou^d not cry because of a hand

¹²⁴ William Evans, a carpenter, is the brother-in-law of John Dyer's wife (see epitomised diary 17/9). He may be the William Evans carpenter at 15 Cumberland Street in 1775, or perhaps William Evans and co timber merchants of 23 Princes St. See below 20/9.

¹²⁵ Durbin (pp. 27–8) records a different set of occurrences this day to Dyer, including cuts and pinpricks to 'Molly' in the presence of 'two gentlemen'. He also reports an offer by two of Mr Giles's porters to make an affidavit to the Turnpike Commissioners (who were dining there) that 'at the beginning of the affair with the children', while they were unloading flour in the yard, the waggon had moved a yard and a half uphill and rocked from side to side for two or three minutes 'but as nothing then had happened very extraordinary to the children, neither Mr Giles, nor the family, did believe them.' See 25/1 for a question re this.

¹²⁶ See Elizabeth Hemmings* and William James* for the likelihood that she is the sister of Samuel Sartain of Mangotsfield, involved in a London-Bristol carrying service, and that Sartain was related by marriage as well as business to James.

being before her mouth. Polley was likewise pulled by her head & half her body was out of bed but on crying out the nurse maid held her by the legs & prevented her being quite gone. Mr Seyers came after I had ye above conversation together with Mr Eaton etc etc but the daemon would not act any more.

Went to Brewho: this morn^s & staid two hours & then to off: I have been this day called to an account twice about the affair at Lawfords Gate. First to Mr Ames & Mr Worgan & this even^s again by the same gentlemen together with the rest of the Committee vizt.

Mr Elton Mr Miller Mr Wansey Mr Deane

This aftern^o I was at Mr Eatons where was also Mr Mark Harford Senr¹²⁷ & Mr Eaton informed me he asked the daemon yester^y morn^s several questions in Latin¹²⁸ to which he reced very precise answers. Mr Henry Durbin being present & not one person in the house besides them did understand Latin viz

“Whence come you from Heaven or Hell. If from Heaven scratch 3 times. If from Hell scratch 4 times – It ans^d with 4 scratches

How many children has the master of this house – ans^r eight – right

If you are the familiar spirit of the witch scratch 5 times – w^{ch} it did.

How many persons are now in the room – ans^r 7 – right

Afterwards another person came in & the same question was put again – & ye ans^r was 8 – right

How many children have I (vizt Mr Eaton) ans^r 4 – right

How old is this eldest child (meaning Mr Giles daugh^r) ans^r 13 – right

How old is the youngest (Doppey) ans^r 8 – right

How many children has Mr Durbin – ans^r 3 – right

Mr Durbin then asked the follow^g question in Latin

“If there is a great God make 6 scratches – w^{ch} it did

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 10, 1762

I find my nerves very weak, because every little hurry fatigues & puts me in a fluster. I was this morn^s & aftern^o at Brewho: but cannot yet discover the mistake – call’d this morn^s on Mr Eaton who informed me that Mr Seyer asked the daemon several questions in Latin & one also in Greek this morn^s & was precisely ans^d by scratches.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Mark Harford (1700–1788) was from a leading Quaker family, and, though a linendraper by trade, was also a merchant with interests in brass manufacture and the malt distillery of fellow Quakers Dinham* and Ball* for whom Dyer had worked 1745–50; his son Mark was born in 1738. His papers are in BRO 28046 and see *ODNB* entry for the Harford family.

¹²⁸ Durbin (pp. 26–7) gives these questions in Latin and English, in a slightly different order. He states that ‘I purposed asking some Latin questions’ and though he admits ‘we asked’ them, he leaves out the question about Eaton’s children. He also translates differently the final question, “‘Si maximus est Deus’”, which he renders ‘If God be supreme’.

¹²⁹ Durbin (pp. 29–30) records many of these Latin and Greek questions, which were designed to see ‘if it would acknowledge the great truths of religion’, including ‘If Christ be the eternal God’, ‘if an angel of God protects these children’, ‘If Christ be God and Man’ and also ‘how many satellites the planet Saturn had’. Most significantly it was asked ‘if thy name be Malchi’, which it confirmed. As Durbin noted ‘about sixty years ago, one Perks, of Mangotsfield, had a familiar spirit that was named Malchi, agreeable to the account written by the Rev. Mr Bedford, late minister of Temple parish, in this city. And as it had said the woman lived at Mangotsfield, that did this mischief, it made us suppose it might be the same.’ Malchi is named again in Durbin’s account (pp. 54–5) of what the cunning woman of Bedminster told Mrs Giles when consulted on 29 November by Mrs Giles: ‘it was a very powerful spirit that was employed; it was a chief

This even^s wrote Bro^r James & enclosed a lre to Mr Symes with Mr Eatons Latin questions which are certainly a convincing proof of a supernatural agency in that affair.

Drank tea with mother visited Rachell this even^s & my soul was refreshed.

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 11, 1762

Rose this morn^s at 5 & was at ye Lamb just p 6 – I was soon call'd up stairs & no person in ye room with ye children but ye nurse who inform'd me the witch had been thumping & making great noise but my coming in put a stop to it – However the candle was desired to be carried out of ye room when immediately thereupon I heard such a violent knocking against ye head of ye bed as if done with a large fist which shook the bed stead. & the curtain of the bed on that side next the door was shook as if done with a human hand which I cou'd discern by the glimmering light from the candle w^{ch} came through ye crevices of the door & soon after I heard Polleys breast slapt as if done with a large hand 3 or 4 times ye nurse at ye samtime was leaning over the children – immediately after ye candle was brought in & then the above ceased & scratching in the bed (as usual) succeeded. But as I was in ye dark when ye above happened I cannot assert that I saw the children lye motionless in the bed altho' am very confident that ye whole was ye effect of a supernatural agent. I was in the room ½ an hour before any other person came & in that time asked the follow^s questions w^{ch} were ans^d as customary by scratches.

“Tell me whither the good spirits now this moment lay any restraint upon you – yes

Wou'd you torment any person here present (Mrs Giles, the nurse & myself) besides ye children had you power – yes.

Has ye Devil now at this time great power in this nation to torment children in this manner (referring to Mrs Giles's children then in bed) ans^r yes

Is this power greater now than it was some years ago – yes

You told me there were men witches in Mangotsfield parish – tell me how many – I think ye ans^r was three.

Do you know W^m Flew of Mangotsf^d p[ari]sh – yes

Do you know W^m Llewellyn of ditto¹³⁰ – yes

of the familiar spirits; it was Malchi (which was the name it told me [Durbin] it was called by) and therefore she was in doubt whether she could stop it. And this spirit knew all languages, and all thoughts; for there were some learned spirits and some ignorant.' On 20 December 1760 Dyer recorded that 'Stephen Penny had conversed with a Mangotsfield man who knew the noted Thomas Perks of Mangotsfield who had the art of raising spirits of whom Mr Bedford minister of Temple church gives some account in a letter to the Bishop of Hereford' (actually the Bishop of Gloucester, but Bedford opens the letter by referring to his having told the Bishop of Hereford first). So we know, both that the Dyer circle were well aware of the story and that it was part of Mangotsfield tradition; the Victorian astrologer 'Raphael' reports 'I have myself seen a very curious telescope and a very ingenious fowling-piece made by this said Thomas Perks and in my last tour to the west of England (1830) I found numerous versions of this particular account still extant among the peasantry' (*Familiar Astrologer*, p. 699). Bedford's own copy of his original letter, with minor differences from the printed version, is in BRO, Temple Lc 7.

¹³⁰ Dyer was presumably aware of the discussion of Malchi and so Thomas Perks the previous day, as reported by Durbin. He must also have known of Perks's successor as an astronomer and instrument maker, William Lluellins (c. 1687–1773), 'the learned collier of Mangotsfield' who, according to a poetical epitaph by W.O. of Marshfield, spent his nights in stargazing and the study of the heavens, had a library of books worth £30 including Newton and Halley, made an almanac and ground glass to perfection, so producing excellent telescopes and microscopes. It seems likely that 'William Flew' was a false start for 'Llewellyn'.

Is that man in compact with ye Devil – yes

Is your old friend who lives at ye Brewho in ye Old Mark^t in compact w^h ye Devil¹³¹ – yes

NB There is no dependence on the assertions of an evil sp^t who undoubtedly is a lying one.

I asked if any clergymen wou^d be here this morn^g – yes

How many – two

Soon after w^{ch} came in the Rev^d Mr Camplin & Mr Brown & some remarkable circumstances succeeded – Mr Eaton & Mr Hill¹³² were also present. Several questions in Latin were asked by Mr Camplin, Mr Brown & Mr Eaton respectively, to w^{ch} very exact & satisfactory answers were given.

Mr Camplin asked in English whither ye daemon knew his intentions – yes

Was he going a journey soon – yes

He then ordered such a num^r of scratches to be given when he ment^d ye place to w^{ch} he was going & then he named Taunton, Exeter, York, Roches^r, Lond^o to ye last of w^{ch} a reply was made & that was right.¹³³ An expedient then was proposed which if succeeded would infallibly prove that this affair could not be carried on by human agency (Mr Camplin also examin^d ye sacking on both sides) & that was to try if any ans^r would be given if the questions were only whispered. Mr Camplin was seated 18 inches from the feet of the bed in a chair & he proposed ye first question. I sat in a chair close to him & looked at his mouth but could not possibly hear a word only saw his lips move – ye words were rather only conceived in the mind than uttered. However he had an immediate answer & that to ye amazement & astonishment of the whole company – then each person present proposed question or questions severally & were satisfactorily answered. A stronger proof of an invisible agency I think cannot be required ye tatoo was several times scratched in ye bed. Also a striking against ye sacking as if done with one finger & any striking against ye bed post w^{ch} either of us made was immediately imitated. then a knocking against ye head of ye bed as if done with ye end of a stick & there the daemon made 5 7 or more knocks at a time just as we ordered it afterwards we beat ye bed with our hands where the scratching seemed to be made. & we evidently heard a squeaking 2 or 3 times resembling the small crying voice of an infant. I asked if I shou^d go a journey within a month to scratch 3 times w^{ch} it did – But I know no probability of this at present.

Mr Camplin pull^d out his watch & asked what was o'clock w^{ch} was then just at ye stroke of 8 – & 8 scratches were directly made.

He asked what day of the week – ans^r 5

I called on Mr Penny & break^d with him & amazed him with ye above acco^t. & this even^g I sent Mr Symes the said account inclosed in Mrs Symes's lre with whom I drank tea with AD who spent the day with Mrs Symes.

¹³¹ Does this refer to Dyer's ongoing problems in balancing the Brewhouse accounts (see above 3/2)? William James* also lived in the Old Market, but not in the Brewhouse.

¹³² Jeremiah Hill was a merchant, living at 11 Old Market in 1775, with an office at 9 Castle Ditch. See 18/2 and 22/2.

¹³³ Durbin (p. 30) reports Camplin's questions in greater detail, with some variations (the places named are York, Canterbury, Dover, Birmingham and Taunton, before London). He also reports asking many more 'mental questions' 'at night', presumably after Dyer left, as well as in Greek and Latin, and noted 'the children are not tormented while we ask questions'.

people now begin to be staggered concern^s this affair
called on Bro^r Jn^o this even^s & home p 8.

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 12, [1762]

Rose this morn^s ab^t 5 & at 6 repaired to the Lamb, where Mr Worgan soon follow'd me. Mr & Mrs Camplin & Mr Slade Baker¹³⁴ also came there & it being a very rainy morn^s we all breakfasted at the Lamb. But ye evil genius wou'd not operate before any other than Mr Camplin & myself this morn^s & we each asked a few questions & were ans^d by scratches. At breakfast Polleys arm was jerk'd two or 3 times when taking a cup of tea to her mouth

The poor children especially Polley look'd quite fatigued this morn^s being pinched almost during the whole night & were obliged to be removed from bed to bed but it seemed to have no effect. In the forepart of the night both children were pulled out of bed as Polley informed us – about 10 return'd home & set out for Littleton & return'd from thence at 2. & had fair weather all the time. This even^s a most violent storm of thunder & lightening with rain happened & the thunder seemed to break just over the city. After din^r went to Brewh^o call'd on Mr Brown at Gram^r School¹³⁵ & p 7 home. Mrs Elmes attributed the extraordinary ill treatment of ye daemon to ye children last night to Mr Giles who talked very rudely & threatened it &c &c.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 13, [1762]

Rose this morn^s p 5 & repaired to ye Lamb p 6 & staid an hour before was admitted upstairs. When Mr Seyer & I went up together but ye daemon was very sulky & wou'd answer very little – other company also came to the house w^{ch} was not admitted upstairs. Among ye number was Mr Adlam who went with me to Mr Eatons & I staid to breakfast there – whilst I was there a lady came to enquire some particulars with regard to Mr Giles's children she being just going for London.

Ab^t 10 went to off: & this foren^o went to several places 'on the dunn'.¹³⁶ After dinner went to Brewh^o & finished calling over ye whole years acco^s but without discovering the error. Drank tea at Mr Allison's & gave them an acco^t of ye Lamb affair. In my way met our d^r fr^d Mrs S. this even^s visited poor Rachell who is ill in body & ye burthen of her mind seems very great. She says it proceeds not from ye sense of any guilt of her own. She possesses a solid peace beneath the same. But the burthen is on acco^t of others. – She has indeed a sympathizing spirit.

¹³⁴ Slade Baker (c.1714–1784) linendraper in High St, partner of Paul Fisher* and William Griffin*, and trustee with Fisher and Palmer* of Redland Chapel. Family papers are held in BRO (8015 and 09476). A Mrs Baker was godmother of William Dyer's brother George* in 1744.

¹³⁵ James Brown* was undermaster at the Bristol Grammar School, with Seyer* as headmaster. The Grammar School was in Christmas Street until 1767.

¹³⁶ To dun (a term first used c. 1600) is to importune for debts, but the phrase 'on the dunn' is not recorded in *OED*.

14 This day or yesterday (I am not certain which) dyed Mr Champness clerk to Mr Noble¹³⁷ after a short illness proceed^s from a cold he caught in ship^s ye men for King George privateer.¹³⁸

Sunday, Feb[rua]ry 14, 1762

In foren^o went to St Werburghs & heard an excellent discourse from Mr Camplin – AD myself & Sam din^d at Bro^r Hopkins's – aftern^o went to St Nich^s & heard Mr Camplin but his discourse was not so spiritual as that in ye morn^s. Afterwards visited Bro^r Johns. & at 6 went to Quakers meeting & spent 2 hours there I trust profitably.

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 15, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 went to Brewhouse & staid 'till 10. Afterw^{ds} at sundry places on ye dunn. One of w^{ch} was aldermⁿ Laro:¹³⁹ who appeared in great ill humour.

p 11 went up to the Lamb where was Mr Eaton before me.¹⁴⁰ The children were employed in sewing & Polleys adversary was close at her elbow, which he wou^d frequently remind her of by jerking up her right arm as she was sewing, & once or twice the jerk was so violent that she turned ye needle into her lip. Mrs Giles then held both the elbows with her hands & then Polleys feet were suddenly lifted up & once she said a hand had hold of each leg. But Mr Eaton thereupon lifting up her leg, she was disengaged. Presently she complain^d that a pinn was in her back which upon examin^a I found, being a very crooked one with ye point next her skin.

Her pinn cushion was robbed of 2 pins while I was there.

On Change, young Laroche made a bluster to Mr Baugh concern^s our note on ye Cato¹⁴¹ – after dinner called at Cadles:¹⁴² afterw^{ds} at Mrs Symes's & drank tea with her & Mr Badderly came in meantime. Afterw^{ds} went to Brewho: & st^d 'till 8 But cannot yet ye discover the error notwithstand^s I have runn^d through ye ledger & exam^d every acco^t w^{ch} has been closed: called over the whle year: & exa^d ye balances – therefore am doubtful must force ye ballances.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Possibly Richard Champness of 15 Small Street, who had traded to Africa in 1759, or John Champness ropemaker and merchant who went bankrupt in 1757. The epitomised diary adds 'clerk to John Noble esq uncle to John Noble esqr living in 1801'. John Noble (c.1710–1768) was a merchant, sheriff 1745–6 and/or 1759–60 and mayor 1762–3; his nephew John is listed as a Newfoundland merchant at 31 Queen Square in 1775 and was sheriff in 1772–3, mayor 1791–2 and an alderman by 1793–4.

¹³⁸ A 32-gun ship captained by John Read. *FFBJ* noted on 13 February that the prizes from King George privateer were to be declared and on 21 August its return with more prizes from taking the Tyger frigate (an English frigate captured by the French in 1758) from St Domingo for Bordeaux, with the vessels it had captured – cargo included sugar, indigo, coffee, money etc. See below 17/8.

¹³⁹ See James Laroche, father and son*. For his complaint see below and 16–17/2.

¹⁴⁰ Durbin reported (pp. 31–2) a number of experiments he and two gentlemen witnesses had conducted with marking pins the day before.

¹⁴¹ A large slave ship built in 1746 but registered in Bristol in 1760, belonging in 1762 to James Laroche* and co. It left Bristol on 26 May 1762 for Old Calabar, but then seems to have become stuck there until summer 1764 (losing most of its crew) when it sailed with slaves for St Kitts and Jamaica, not returning home until January 1765.

¹⁴² See Thomas Cadell* and 16/2 below.

¹⁴³ See 17/2.

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 16, 1762

Went this morn^g to Mr Cadles & bo^t ye works of Van Helmont which I esteem a treasure.¹⁴⁴ Afterwards went up to ye Lamb where was Mr King¹⁴⁵ I spent ½ an hour there but not any thing happened to ye children in that time nor has anything very material happened 2 or 3 days since – afterw^{ds} went to Mr Laroche's & explained to him the occasion of ye difference between our 2 times notes w^{ch} were dd for ye Cato. When ye 1st was deliv^d we had no acco^t of ye pow^r being filled & ye 2d note was dd because of 2 more b^{ls} being dd than was charg^d in ye former one. W^{ch} 1st note was omitted to be destroyed & Mr Laro: seem^d satisfied – after din^r electrised my patients & p 3 went to Brewho: & once more exam^d ye balla^s but could not discover ye error.

p 6 visited Rachell where was Mr Hawsworth before me but he left me there – then to off p 7 visited poor Bro^r Jn^o who seems very ill this even^g.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 17, 1762

Went to Brewho: p 8 & notwithstanding ye most diligent search I cannot discover ye error of 4/7 & therefore I forced the ballances & this aftern^o quite closed the years acco^{ts} hav^g had fatigue enough in searching for ye said error. Went this foren^o to Mr Laroche's & carry^d a note of ye b^{ls} which he has short credited & went to sundry places on the dunn.

This morn^g Mr Durbin informed me that himself, Mr Eaton & Mr Brown were at the Lamb last night & ye answers were given in a more extra^y mann^r than usual.¹⁴⁶ The daemon spoke with a voice in Polleys ear & answer^d them by that method every question w^{ch} was asked for ye space of 2 hours & made a full discovery of the whole affair charg^g W^m James wth being ye p[er]son who hired ye witch & inform^d them that if Polley & Doppey were kept separate that it wou^d occasion ye death of one of them. & also that they must not remain longer than a fortnight in one place. But that if they were removed somewhere out of Bristoll & continue not above 14 days in one place & then removed to another & in that manner 8 times the children wou^d by that means be deliv^d. – Thus it seems ye Devil was obliged to make a declaration – this even^g I called at Mr Eaton's about 9 but find^g that Mr Ames & others were at ye Lamb I ret^d home without going there – this even^g drank tea with Mrs Will^{by}¹⁴⁷ visited Bro^r Jno.

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 18, 1762

This morn^g reced from Mr Durbin a more particular acco^t of ye affair which happened Tuesday night which he took in writing at ye very samtime.¹⁴⁸ Coppy whereof is as follows: vizt

¹⁴⁴ John Baptista van Helmont's *Works* were published in London in 1664. In 1787 Dyer called Helmont 'a wise and great man' after reading him on 'the amazing power of imagination'. See 14/5.

¹⁴⁵ Possibly Thomas King, one of Giles's partners in the carrying business: see Richard Giles*.

¹⁴⁶ See Durbin (pp. 21–2) and 18/2.

¹⁴⁷ This may be the wife of city Chamberlain Christopher Willoughby (see 8/6); a Rebecca Willoughby was at 43 Princes Street in 1775.

¹⁴⁸ Durbin's printed account is very similar, but it adds that the clergyman 30 miles hence was at Malmesbury. I cannot identify a Rev. Brooks there; Ralph Brooks was ordained in the Salisbury diocese but a rector in Kent from 1728 to his death in 1767.

Tuesday evening ye 16^h the Rev^d Mr Brown, Mr Eaton, & myself (Durbin) being at Mr Giles's as soon as we entered the chamber we heard a squeak 5 times. We went down stairs & waited 'till ye children were in bed & upon our returning up stairs, Polley told us ye daemon had informed her, that it would discover the whole affair. We thereupon said that if it would discover the same – to answer by a certain number of scratches w^{ch} we ordered & immediately it did so. We bid it scratch 7 times if the p[er]son who hired it lives in the Old Market. It reply'd with 7 scratches. & then we prescribed a certain number of scratches for answer. & asked will that p[er]son be brought to public shame. Ans^r yes. Can he prosper long – no. In how many weeks before this will come to pass vizt his being bro^t to public shame together with a manifest proof of this mischief hav^g recoiled upon himself by unsucces in his temporal concerns. & in how many weeks before the said person would be brought to acknowledge this wickedness – to all which, & respectively, it answered by 37 scratches. ImPLY^g so many weeks. Will the witch suffer corporal punishment for this wickedness if so scratch 10 times – it did so.

Mr Brown asked in silence “How many children hath Mr Brooks (a clergymen) who lives 30 miles from hence- it ans^d three by scratches – right.

How many children hath Mr Seyers – ans^r 4 – right

I (Mr Durbin) asked in silence how many children hath Mr Hill.¹⁴⁹ It scratched 4.

We desired (as it could not speak by voice to us) that it wou^d speak to the child & acquaint her what it promised (namely) the discovery of the whole affair. Polley thereupon started up & said that it spoke in her ear as follows vizt “That the children would be cured by moving from place to place & it wou^d be brought to light by that means. “That it was tired with this work of giving answers & therefore wou^d give no more answers after that it had discovered the whole affair this evening. We then said “now name the person” Polley cryd out it says William James is the man that employ^d the witch. I'll make him acknowledge it. You do as I bid you – you move to several places – we then asked if in Bristol. It said Bristol won't do. Seven miles from hence first not long in a place. If you abide too long in a place my charm will be more than ever. the children will not be able to live long, if you abide too long in a place. Except the last place. the youngest must go along with her sister otherwise she would not be able to live, take your sister”. All this was spoken to Polley & that in separate sentences with some intervals between. Doppey soon after said “It says to me that if I do not go with my sister I cannot live” But it seems this was misapprehension by the child. for immediately thereupon Polley saith it has said to me “your sister mistakes. 'tis you that will not live long, I shall affect you inwardly, if Doppey does not go with you. Attend to what I shall say next. Here it ceased & we waited about ye space of a minute. & then Polley said it saith that “If your sister is not with you at Mr Haynes's in two days after you get there you'll be in such violent rack of pain, that you will not live to see your friends.

We then asked where they shou^d go next. Ans^r where you will, so it is not in Bristol. It must be 4 miles out of Bristol. & not exceed^g two weeks at a place. We asked how many places they must go to after Mr Haynes's it scratched eight. We asked how many weeks at ye last place. It scratched twelve. & How many miles out of Bristol – scratched three. It then spoke to Polley (which she repeated to us) “If

¹⁴⁹ See 11/2.

you let them stay more than a fortnight there is no doubt but they will loose their lives – & then it said now I'll talk my language which the child said was an unintelligible gibberish. But afterwards said I shall go & tell you when to go from Mr Haynes's. I was perswaded much, not to make this discovery but I would. The children will not suffer much unless you stay over the fortnight. be sure & mind about Doppey's coming over in two days – we then said "if Mr Haynes will take both children (for only Polley was proposed to be sent there) scratch 3 times. Which it did.

In the midst of our asking this last question it said to Polley (as usual) "make haste & ask my time is short I have but a few minutes" & soon after (which was 12 o'clock) it entirely ceased & we could obtain no more answers.

In the course of this conversation Mr Durbin asked If the affair of Mr Parsons's child at London was witchcraft or a ghost. It reply'd ye latter.¹⁵⁰

This morn^s went to the Lamb but the children have rested pretty quiet 2 or 3 nights since. Last night Mr Durbin ye younger & Major Drax were there & they collected a great number of pinns before they went away. Mr Drax had several pinns drop'd into his hand as if from ye air. & yesterday or the day before, Mr Eaton mark'd several pins & then put them in the child's pinn cushion w^{ch} were soon taken out & Polley had them put into her bosom crooked in ye usual manner.¹⁵¹ This morn^s called at Mr Hen Durbins & breakfas^d with him – indeed my spirits are tired & fatigued about this affair – May I behave with ye prudence becoming a Christian – vizt one who is seeking ye things eternal. This aftern^o visited sis^r Hopkins & in the even^s went up to Mr Symes's where was Mrs Hunt¹⁵² & another lady.

Mr Symes was just return'd home from Lond^o when I went in – staid there 'till 10 then home.

Friday, Feb[rue]ry 19, 1762

This morn^s sent Rob^t over to Littleton & staid at off: chief part of the morn^s myself. Mr Ames & Mr Bright interrogated me today concern^s the affair at ye Lamb & diverted themselves therewith.

This even^s spent an hour with poor Rach^l in comp^a with Mr Davis – oh may him & I be devoted to ye Lord.

This even^s saw Mr Brown who informed me ye affair at ye Lamb is ridiculed in one of ye Lond^o papers & ye enital letter of our names are inserted.¹⁵³

This even^s visit^d poor Bro^r Jn^o who is in a weak state of health.

¹⁵⁰ See 23/1. Durbin does not mention this question.

¹⁵¹ This sounds like Durbin's account of 14 February (pp. 31–2).

¹⁵² The wife of Mr Hunt of Chewton (d. 1773) who was Mrs Symes's* brother; she died at Bath in 1773. See also 24/2 and 16/10.

¹⁵³ This may be the piece by 'A Bristol Conjuror' in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of 15 February, but this does not have initials so another article may be meant. The same issue carried a letter from Bristol dated 13 February reporting the affair in a sympathetic light. It is not clear who might have written this, though Dyer later reports Penny writing to a London paper – see 24/2. Dyer also fails to record the publication in *FFBJ* 20 February of the first article defending the reality of the Lamb Inn case, namely 'Some Seasonable Queries relating to the Affair without Lawford's Gate'.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 20, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 having been much disturbed in dream about our d^r fr^d Mrs S – in convers^g with Mr A & Mrs A^s: also – about 8 went to the Lamb & was inform^d of strange work which happened to the children last night¹⁵⁴ young Mr Durbin & Major Drax being with them at the same time – being as much as 3 or 4 strong men cou^d do to hold Doppey from being pull^d away from them they were put to bed & obliged to take them up again but it was the same below as above stairs. –

Mr Drax it seems held Polley under her arms with all his strength to prevent her being pull^d out of bed by her heels but it proved insufficient: Mr Drax reced a pretty large pinch in the palm of his hand – this work contin^d from 12 ‘till near 3 in the morn^g –

This even^g I visited the children again about 9 but could not leave them ‘till p 11– about 9 they were put to bed & we were inform^d the same work was then going forward as last night upon which we went upstairs: viz Mr Henry Durbin Mr Eaton Mr Geo Alker¹⁵⁵ a young lady from Kingsdown & myself & we were fully employed for upwards of an hour.

I stood by Polley & as soon as she cryed out she was pulled by her legs I laid hold of her arms But sometimes the force was so great that I could not pull her up to the bolster & Mr Eaton & Mr Alker with ye young lady in their turns had the same difficulty with Doppey & it seem^d to go from one to t^other without ceasing ½ a minute for I sup^e an hour & then we proposed the children should be taken out of bed & dress^d but that was soon found impracticable. However Doppey was taken up & wrapt in a quilt but that was pulled off from her & twas with great difficulty that Major Drax’s serv^t man¹⁵⁶ cou^d hold that child in his arms. With the assistance also of Mr Giles & others – at the sametime I was attend^g poor Polley who was seized with a convulsion fit thro’ the great fatigue she had under gone but when she recovered she was taken up & wrapt in a cloke & taken downstairs & the tormentor seem^d to vent all his malice upon poor Doppey who continued to be pulled & hawled about in a manner I can’t express – at last find^g no rest in the house ‘twas agreed taking them both to Mr Eaton’s when both of them fainted away & were strongly convulsed occasion^d by the very great fatigue. I staid ‘till they were put in bed at Mr Eatons house & then left ‘em hoping this diabolical spirit will not have power to afflict them so much there as at their own house.

Mr Durbin had occasion to come away an hour before me, consequently had not opportunity of seeing so much as I did.

Mr Giles inform^d us of one of his waggons which sat out from the Lamb last Wednes^y aftern^o at 3 o’clock was so retarded in going to Bath that it did not reach

¹⁵⁴ Durbin (pp. 35–8) not only gives a much fuller version of the events involving ‘young Mr Durbin’ (his nephew John Durbin*) and Major Drax*, but also describes another disappearance of Dobby earlier in the day. Durbin quotes her on the witch being ‘dressed as usual, with a dirty chip hat and a brown ragged gown – She was of a middle size and had a sharp nose’. He also reveals that the children’s paroxysms which the men could not control followed the children reporting voices telling them that they needed to move outside Bristol. Mrs Giles ‘said she thought Dobby might tell lies, in order to go over with her sister to Mr –’s’, and this distrust seems to have provoked the girls/spirits. Durbin also reports that Major Drax ‘marked a great many pins ... which he carried up to London and shewed them at Court to many Bishops and Noblemen’.

¹⁵⁵ George Alker was trading to Africa in 1759.

¹⁵⁶ Durbin (p. 38) calls him his butler.

Bath 'till 7 the next morn^g¹⁵⁷ – & this is the second waggon which has been stop'd in going from hence to Bath. & no doubt by the same evil agent w^{ch} torments the poor children.

Such a scene of ye kind as I have seen this even^g never saw I before, The poor children might well fall into faintings thro' the great fatigue as I myself quite sweat in bustling with them. Some persons may accuse me with making too free with Satan in visiting those children. But I trust my motive in visiting them is not to converse with that evil spirit But in order to profit both them & myself. Them, by dropping any little word w^{ch} may prove useful (tho' very incapable I am!) & myself by having my heart affected with the miserys of my poor fellow creatures who are suffered to be tortured by that mischievous spirit! Oh may the Lord gave them a due sense of this calamity & enable them to seek to him self for help.

A circumstance w^{ch} made the scene this even^g more affecting was, that Mrs Giles & all her servants were in tears.

Sunday, Feb[rua]ry 21, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 & as soon as I had breakfasted hastned to the Lamb where I had the pleasure to hear the poor children rested well at Mr Eatons – Mr Giles intends going to Mr Haynes this morn^g to request the children may be bro^t there this aftern^o – Staid at Mr Eatons 'till 10 & then went to St Werburgh's & in aftern^o staid at home. The follow^g note was put up at St Werb^{ghs} this morn^g vizt

“Prayers are desired for two children who continue to be grievously tormented”¹⁵⁸

The affair at Lawfords Gate brings to peoples remembrance things w^{ch} has happened in times past. Mrs Hunt¹⁵⁹ was telling last Thurs^y even^g that she knows a man who well remembered the very extraord^y affair w^{ch} happened at Butley in Sommersetshire 20 or 25 y^{rs} since where stacks of corn were set on fire on a preternatural way – large stones were thrown from the top of the house where the family lived on whom the calamity had fallen by an invisible power. victualls was taken out of ye pot over the fire by the same hand. & somtimes carry.. from the table by the same invisible hand. – The young man who was the person bewitched has been seen to be carryd up the chymney & let down again. & the farmer was almost reduced to poverty by this diabolical inchantm^t.¹⁶⁰ Mrs Hunt saith there is an old man now living in the parish of Chew Sto[ke] who saith he converses with spirits every night & I doubt they are of the malignant kind.

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 22, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 & at 9 went to the Lamb & to Mr Eatons & reced a bad acco^t concern^g the poor children – It being inconvenient for them to be taken to Mr Haynes's yesterday

¹⁵⁷ Durbin (p. 28) has a fuller version of this, specifying that it was stopped at Kelson Hill 4 miles short of Bath and adding 'The first week Mr Giles set up the flying waggons for London these troubles began.'

¹⁵⁸ See 31/1.

¹⁵⁹ See 18/2.

¹⁶⁰ The case actually occurred almost sixty years earlier and was reported in a pamphlet, *The Somersetsshire Daemon* (1704) and a ballad, *The Somersetsshire Wonder* (1704); it is also briefly discussed in John Beaumont's *An Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits, Apparitions, Witchcraft and Other Magical Practices* (1705), p. 306.

they remain'd at Mr Eaton's all day & lay there last night but were in that time grievously tormented vizt: at 5 o'clock yesterday even^g & at bedtime & again early this morn^g¹⁶¹ – when I call'd at Mr Eaton's they were at breakfast there this morn^g & were pretty quiet in that time tho' we were obliged to hand the tea to Polleys mouth & likewise hold her chin & her head, the persecutor being very near & gave her a sudden jerk whenever we neglected to use that precaution – soon after breakfast as Doppey was standing in Mr Eatons kitchen she cryed out something was pulling her by the legs, & presently she sprawled down upon the ground, immediately thereupon Polley was seized in the same room & they both continued to be pulled for a considerable time in the same manner as on Saturday night. So that 'twas with difficulty Mr Eaton Mr Hen Durbin Mr Jere Hill¹⁶² & myself (who were all present) could hold them from being pulled down on the ground. We carried them both out of the kitchen into Mr Eatons dining room & soon after that the lugging & pulling ceased but each of the childrens bodies were there upon violently agitated from head to foot. & Polley became entirely senseless – Doppey retain'd her senses & her thighs & legs were chiefly agitated – But in ½ an hour they both were recovered & what seems remarkable is that they were afterwards in exceed^g good spirits¹⁶³ w^{ch} is very contrary to ye effects of convulsion fits which come in a natural way! & is therefore a convincing proof to me of the above agitations being preternatural.

–near ½ p 10 I left them & went to off: afterw^{ds} visited poor Salley Packer¹⁶⁴ who has been ill some days with an erisepilas¹⁶⁵ & fever

– at 1 went up to the Lamb & din'd there by request of Mr Giles & p 2 set out with him & Polley in a postchaise¹⁶⁶ & went to Mr Haynes at Wick & staid there 2 hours – after I had related to Mr H the discovery w^{ch} the daemon made last Tuesday night. He desired that Doppey might be brought there tomorrow as he wou'd by no means part them to hazard their health – we left Polley behind us & reach'd the Lamb ½ p 7– went Home & then went up to Rachells & reced lef' from d^r friend Mrs S.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Durbin (pp. 39–40) gives fuller details of these, and also that 'a person proposed relieving them by casting their urine in the fire ... at last they threw the water of one of them into the fire and burnt it; as soon as it burned clear, that child was as well as if nothing had happened' and the same with the other, but the relief only lasted three hours. He adds 'Mrs -, in a hurry, called it some name. I begged she would not, lest it should have any power over her. She then beat it at the bed's foot, to prevent it hurting the children. It generally squeaked when beat, like a cat or a rat. Mr -'s daughter, about eighteen and son about fourteen, were standing by the bedside, they cried out they saw something lie between the children's heads of a shining colour, about the size of a cat, with a broad back, but could not see any head, feet or tail; as it seemed in a heap. Mrs. - then saw it, and went to the bed's head, and struck at it with her hand. She said it felt very soft and vanished, but somewhat at the same instant pinched a bit of flesh out of her arm, that the blood ran down. I saw the wound: it was as big as a small pea, bled a little the next day, and the mark continued some months.' (See Brown's letter of 28 February for another account of this.) Durbin also reports pinches to two women that left marks that lasted several months.

¹⁶² See 11/2.

¹⁶³ Durbin (p. 41) contradicts this, stating that they were 'greatly exhausted by their late exercises'.

¹⁶⁴ See George Packer* and 23–28/2 and 1/3.

¹⁶⁵ Erysipelas is a disease causing deep red inflammation of the skin, also known as St Anthony's fire.

¹⁶⁶ Durbin (p. 41) says 'at ten o'clock, Molly was sent in a post-chaise'. This was a 4–wheeled carriage with closed box for hire. In 1755 they could be hired from the Pelican and the Bell in St Thomas Street, Boars Head near College Green, White Lion in Broad St, Mr William Robins in Redcliff St and Mr Season's at George without Temple Gate.

¹⁶⁷ See 27/1.

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 23, 1762 – Shrove Tuesday

Rose at 7 & ab^t 9 went to off afterw^{ds} visited Mr Penny who read to me sundry queries relative to ye affair at Lawfords Gate w^{ch} are to be publish in Sarah Farleys paper.¹⁶⁸ Afterwards went to sundry places on ye dunn. & staid at off & c ‘till 2. Capt Cheyne call’d on me & was somewhat uneasy concern^s Salley Packer who seems to have some bad symptoms – after din^r went to Brewho: & staid ‘till near 5 then home. Sis^r Hop^s dined with us & spent ye aftern^o at our house.

This even^s the committee met who consisted of Mr Elton Mr Ames Mr Baugh, Mr Wansey –

As soon as they departed I went up to ye Lamb & to Mr Eaton who inform’d me he was just return’d with Mr Giles from Mr Haynes’s where they carry’d Doppey this afternoon. & that Polley has hitherto remained quiet But their adversary tormented Doppey at Mr Sandalls in the Old Market where she lay last night¹⁶⁹

p 8 called on Bro^r Jn^o & then home & sent some mer^y pill¹⁷⁰ for his serv^t maid who is ill in her bowells.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 24, 1762 – Ash Wednes^y

Rose ab^t 7 & at 8 repair’d to St Werb^{ghs} & heard an excellent descourse from Mr Symes¹⁷¹ – Afterwards reced a note from Mr Symes requesting my company to dinner in order to give his sister Hunt¹⁷² & 2 other ladys a succinct acco^t of ye affair at the Lamb. Wth which I complied & read to them Mr Eatons journal of that affair.¹⁷³

This morn^s met Capt Cheyne who inform’d me of Salley Packer being delirious & ye erisipelas proceeds all over her head.

Called twice at Bro^r Jn^o & gave some medicine to their serv^t maid who has no passage in her bowells. This ev^s drank tea with Mr Penny & read his queries designed to be publish’d in ye Lond^o Chronicle w^{ch} he enclosed in a letter¹⁷⁴ & I put it in ye post office.¹⁷⁵

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 25, 1762

This morn^s call’d on parents. & visited Salley Packer who appears extremely ill but Capt Cheyne has applyed cataplasms¹⁷⁶ to her feet w^{ch} I hope will draw the disorder downwards: afterw^{ds} Capt Cheyne & Mr Penny called on me. –

¹⁶⁸ The *Bristol Journal*. See 6/3.

¹⁶⁹ Durbin (p. 41) reports she was bitten in her arms and a chair thrown down. Arthur Sandall perukemaker was at 40 Old Market in 1775.

¹⁷⁰ Pills made using mercury, a common ingredient in remedies, especially anti-venereal ones. See 6/6.

¹⁷¹ One of the Lent series of sermons sponsored by the city with funds from Edward Colston: *FFBJ* 20 February lists the Lent preachers including Symes.

¹⁷² See 18/2.

¹⁷³ This may be the diary reproduced below, as sent by Brown to Lord Dartmouth in April, though that version ends on 10 January.

¹⁷⁴ There is no sign of these in that publication, but see 23/2 and 6/3 for Penny’s queries appearing in the Bristol press.

¹⁷⁵ This was in a wing projecting into Corn Street at the west end of the Exchange.

¹⁷⁶ Cataplasms are plasters or poultices.

I find our fine reasoners quite ridicule ye affair without Lawfords Gate. & go so far as to assert that never any affair of this kind happened without being sooner or later discovered to be a cheat.

After dinner called on Mr Eaton & also at the Lamb & find ye children continue unmolested at Mr Haynes's – 'tis pity say some of our gentleman that they had not be put to a person who is no methodist.

This ev^s drank tea wth Mrs Marston.

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 26, 1762

Last night I had an odd dream wherein I thought I swallowed sev^l pins tho' at the sametime they seemed to do me no harm except that I felt a pricking in my stomach or side –

Mr Giles seemed to be in my company – Surely the old hag has not any power over us – but that even^s hear^s that Major Drax had a cut on his hand of the same kind as the childrens. & when he was not at ye house with the children gave me some alarm – However not any harm can happen unto those who trust in the Lord

This morn^s went over to Littleton & this aftern^o rode over to Mr Haynes & visited the children who continue unmolested – Drank tea there in comp^a with Mrs Haynes & her son – Mr Haynes himself set out for Lond^o this morn^s – at my return call'd at ye Lamb & by Mrs Haynes's desire invited Mr & Mrs Giles to dine with her on Sunday next – arrived at off ½ p 6 afterw^{ds} visited Salley Packer who is extremely ill & her life almost despaired of – afterw^{ds} I went to poor Rachell & reced I trust her seasonable reproof – Lord grant it may prove useful to me – our d^r fr^d Mrs S's serv^t was there & deliv^d me her mister^s injunct^s w^{ch} I intend to obey.

Lord grant I may from this moment cast off every weight that doth hinder me running my Xtian course, that my soul may be entirely devoted to thee! Whither it be study^s books visiting, or conversation: or whatsoever else shew it me & enable me to cast from me whatsoever impedes my entirely devoting my soul my all to thee – Grant this Lord Jesus Amen Amen!

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 27, 1762

This morn^s visited Salley Packer who continues much the same as yesterday

Afterw^{ds} went to Stockesleys¹⁷⁷ & to Wms's¹⁷⁸

This morn^s copyed my d^r fr^d Mrs S lres & destroy'd the original by her desire¹⁷⁹ – after dinner went to Mr Symes's & took walk with him & went from his house to office ½ p 6 & home p 8.

Sunday, [February] 28, [1762]

Sent to Salley Packer this morn^s & reced a good acco^t as there appeared more favourable symptoms this morn^s than has hitherto been. But I was astonish'd this

¹⁷⁷ Stockesley's cutlery and gunpowder warehouse moved in January 1762 from opposite St Nicholas Church to opposite the temporary bridge leading to Tucker Street.

¹⁷⁸ Possibly James Williams*.

¹⁷⁹ See 27/1 and 22/2.

aftern^o at being inform'd her father & mother had taken her home in a post chaise this aftern^o & in all human probability it must cost her, her life & this proceeded from the obstinacy of her parents with a mixture of stupidity & ignorance. This affair has given poor Capt Cheyne great anxiety & notwithstanding^e all his concern yet they wou'd have their own way.

This foren^o went to St Werb^{ghs} & afterw^{ds} st^d at home. In the even^e visit^e Rachell. oh may her advice prove a blessing –

Afterw^{ds} called on Bro^r Jn^o but there I have too much reason to say conversation was not free from sin.

Monday, March 1, 1762

Rose this morn^e about 6 & p 7 took walk & then call'd on Capt Cheyne & we both went to Mr Brown & informed him of the behaviour of George Packer & wife & 'twas proposed I shou'd go over this aftern^o to enquire after Salley But it happened inconvenient which proved very well, because Packer himself came to Mrs Oakeys¹⁸⁰ this aftern^o & said that Salley was brave & that they conveyed her home without harm w^{ch} is a circumstance not at all owing to their prudence or care.

After din^r Mr W^m Hopkins came with one Mr Jos Curtis of Frampton near Acton to view my machine & I went with him afterwards to see a wooden tube w^{ch} his son an apprentice to Mr Davis ye carpenter in the Pithay¹⁸¹ has, w^{ch} is only part of a mopstick made perfectly dry by baking, whereby fire is as readily excited as with a glass tube – & he says that any kind of wood made perfectly dry & kept in that state by being kept in the chimney corner continually will do the same. Also that any sort of dry vegetables will do the same vizt bean stalks &c perfectly dry'd – He saith that a rabbit skin will likewise do it – He has charged an electrical vial from a cats back – I took him to Capt Cheynes

Moth^r din^d with us & spent the day at our house.

This morn^e clos^d last months acc^{ot} of cash – st^d at off 'till 8 this ev^e then home.

Tuesday, March 2, 1762

Rose p 6 – went to Brewho & call'd over last months accompt afterwards visited Mr Symes – then to off – Mr Wallis came to town this morn^e with sample of ye government composition.¹⁸² But it is not likely to succeed. Mr Ames talked to him about ye works stand^e still sometime & turn^e the work men off in that interval¹⁸³ & probably it may be thought meet to turn some one else off likewise. But may I cast all my care on the Lord who certainly careth for me. May I remember that I am only a strang[er] & sojourner in this world –

This foren^o went to Mr Baughs with him to Cust^o Ho, who made affidavit to our ship^e 30 bls pow^r per ye Union¹⁸⁴ in Octo^r last for Dublin. Spent 2 hours & drank tea

¹⁸⁰ Not identified. See 26/7.

¹⁸¹ In 1775 a Gilbert Davis, carpenter, was at 38 Queen Square.

¹⁸² See introduction for the failed attempt to supply the Ordnance Board with gunpowder of the required strength, copying the samples sent back on 4/3.

¹⁸³ See 19/3.

¹⁸⁴ Ship not identified.

wth Mr Penny this aftern^o afterw^{ds} at off & at 7 visited poor Rachell & home near 9 – I have more satisfaction in ye conversation of a poor but experienc'd Xtian than I shou'd in the company of the greatest man on earth who is void of religion.

Wednesday, March 3, [1762]

This morn^g visited Fath^r Davis – staid at off & c 'till 2 then home & staid 'till p 5 Mrs Pope¹⁸⁵ came & staid the even^g – went to off & ½ p 7 at Helpful Society & afterw^{ds} accompanied Mrs Pope home to whom I was enabled to declare with some freedom some truths w^{ch} many serious persons cannot receive.

Thursday, March 4, 1762

Sent Rob^t to Litⁿ this m.. to fetch samples of Governm^t pow^r w^{ch} were sent to Lond^o. –

Went to off at 9 – reced Ire from Bro^r James wth acco^t of ye Lo.. pow^r makers advanc^e 5 / per Barrel wth w^{ch} I went to Mr Ames. Mr Baugh & Mr Elton – then staid at off 'till 2 – after dinner took walk. Drank tea wth Sis^r Hop^s Then to off: & ½ p 7 visited poor Bro^r Jn^o who is very ill & I fear his time is very short in this world.

Bro^r Jno^s sale of ye shop goods began last Monday & I find not yet quite finished. & it seems they have sold much under value.¹⁸⁶

Friday, March 5, 1762

This morn^g near 8 mounted Hobbey & rode to Fulligrove magazine¹⁸⁷ & took account of stock on hand w^{ch} was done with great ease consider^e the very large quant^y w^{ch} is upwards of 1700 barrels – we finished before 1 o'clock – din'd there & reach'd home ½ p 3 – went to off near 5 & st^d 'till 8 then home.

Saturday [March] 6^h, [1762]

This has been a day of great activity with me & my spirits have thereby been greatly a float. Went to Mr Ames's & Mr Baughs & shewd 'em Ire from Liverp^o¹⁸⁸

Afterw^{ds} visited Mr Symes & the paragraph in Felix Farley's & queries in Sarah Farley's paper today very much pleases those who believe the reality of ye affair without Lawfords Gate.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ When Joshua Pope at the Sun in Stokes Croft died in December 1769, Dyer noted that 'his wife was a professor of religion and our acquaintance some years'. He first records meeting her at Allison's* in 1757.

¹⁸⁶ See 31/1.

¹⁸⁷ On the river south of Shirehampton, now the site of Fulligrove House. See the introduction for this magazine, which was developed by the Woolley partners in 1749. Dyer described it as the only place on the river Avon where a piece of land with 'a good tith' could be obtained, and noted that powder was hauled by land from Littleton to Fulligrove from August 1756 until at least 1801. A plan of the buildings in 1792 survives and parts of the works, including a crane on the waterfront, survived until 1986, when the area was developed for housing.

¹⁸⁸ Between June 1756 and December 1762 Baugh Ames and co had licenses for 5200 barrels for shipments to Liverpool merchants for use in the Africa trade. See 1/4 for plans to send powder overland to supply Liverpool.

¹⁸⁹ See 23/2 for Penny's* queries. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* was run at this date by Felix's widow Elizabeth, who was, like him, a Wesleyan Methodist, although from 1758 she had stopped publishing for

Met with Mr Haynes this morning & went with him to Capt Cheynes to shew him his machine. –

This afternoon went to Mr Ames with Ire from Capt Hamilton¹⁹⁰ from Lond^o who wants 100lbs pow^r to be sent to Falm^o¹⁹¹ – went to Mr Deane & consulted him – & this even^g wrote Ire at Mr Ames's w^{ch} he signed to Captain Hamilton inform^g we could send pow^r to Falm^o but then he must obta.. license to ship it from thence to Africa¹⁹² & we wou'd dd it here to a Falm^o vessell at ye Lond^o price w^{ch} we apprehe.. is 90/ per barrel.

Drank tea with mother – call'd at Mr Sweetings & he opened a scene to me w^{ch} he has very lately discovered per Mrs Sprake¹⁹³ concern^g poor JD's untoward wife.

This even^g bro^r Jn^o & his wife go up to fathers to sleep there – as the sale begins morn^g of their houshold goods.

Sunday, March 7, 1762

Went this foren^o to St Nich^s & at sacra^t there – after din^r visited poor Bro^r Jn^o who was extremely ill – aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs}. In even^g visited poor Rachell who said it was now the hour of darkness with her & temptation presseth hard upon her. Afterw^{ds} I went to Mr Eatons & from thence went to Bro^r Jn^o & p 9 home.

Monday, March 8, 1762

Rose before 7 Ja^s Duffet¹⁹⁴ came this morn^g & was electrised for ye hypocondria.¹⁹⁵ p 9 visited Bro^r Jn^o. staid at off &c 'till 2 H Sweeting inform'd me that poor JD's unhappy wife has taken care to have great part of the household goods purchased for her acco^t today¹⁹⁶ tho' she had been so abominably deceitful to promise him none shou'd be bou^t.

Wesley. A full run of this paper for 1762 survives in Bristol Reference Library's Bristol collection. Sarah Farley's paper is the *Bristol Journal* established in rivalry to *Felix's Farley's Bristol Journal* in 1752 by the Quaker Samuel Farley (d. 1753) and inherited by Sarah Farley (his brother Edward's daughter from Exeter) who, though a Quaker, was part of Bristol literary circles as a friend of the young Hannah More and made her paper much closer to the Whig city establishment. Only a few issues of this paper survive for 1762, none covering the Lamb Inn affair.

¹⁹⁰ Perhaps David Hamilton, a Bristol ship's master until 1764 and then a major sugar importer from 1766; a Captain Hamilton is listed at 12 Dowry Square in 1775.

¹⁹¹ Falmouth was the port for the Atlantic packet boats, but it might also have supplied the Cornish mines.

¹⁹² A 1756 act controlling the export of gunpowder had allowed Liverpool and Bristol merchants to export gunpowder, ammunition and arms to Africa for use in their own ships and trade, but they required a license to supply other places, at home and abroad, or traders from other ports. In 1758 the company's petition to have a general license to ship powder to the mines of Wales and Cornwall failed and in July 1762 Wansey* told Strachey* that due to wartime restrictions 'we cannot supply our orders for ye mines in Wales and Cornwall'.

¹⁹³ A friend of John Dyer's* wife. See 8/3, 10/3, 18–19/3, 29/5.

¹⁹⁴ Clerk to Farrell and Jones, leading Virginia merchants (see 24/8); in 1775 Duffett is listed as the turnpike man at 138 Bedminster, as discussed by Dyer in his epitomised diary.

¹⁹⁵ Hypochondria is the soft part of the abdomen under the ribs, and hence the morbid state of mind associated with disease there (properly hypochondriasis).

¹⁹⁶ See 31/1.

After din^r went up to the Lamb & was informed they suspect their adversary is again begin^g to operate on their poor children at Mr Haynes's¹⁹⁷ – when I went home to tea I was inform'd Mr Giles had sent me a roast^g pig w^{ch} I intend send^g my friend Mr Symes.

I visited this even^g Rev^d Mr Brown who was at Mr Days in the Castle¹⁹⁸ who reced a kick from our mare yesterday morn^g & thereby was cut below his under lip & his lower teeth were forced inward. 'Twas a mercy it happened no worse.

Afterw^{ds} visited poor Bro^r Jn^o & home p 8.

Tuesday, March 9, 1762

Ab^t 9 went up to Mr Eatons & Mrs Eaton said ye goods were sold yesterday at a very high rate especially those who were bou^t for JDs wife.

This morn^g sent roast^g pig to Mr Symes's went to Cust^o House & gave bond for powder to be ship'd for Padstow.¹⁹⁹ –

After din^r visited Rev^d Mr Brown afterw^{ds} went to St Nich^s & heard Mr Symes – this ev^g the committee met consist^g of Mr Elton, Mr Ames, Miller, Deane & Wansey.

p 7 visited poor JD where was also H Sweeting.

I find that this day Bro^r Jno^s son Jackey who was at nurse in the country dyed: hav^g been sometime since troubled with convulsion fits.

Wednesday, March 10, 1762

This morn^g visited poor JD & his wife was in a rage when I went in, occasioned by hearing her friend Mrs Sprake had betrayed her trust – such is the friendship of the world! Went to off & st^d 'till 2. After din^r call'd on Mr & Mrs Symes who were both going to visit Mr Purnell & I went part of the way with 'em. Then off: Afterw^{ds} drank tea with Mrs Marston afterw^{ds} visited Rachel. Then to Bro^r Jn^o & home ½ p 8 Having little business at present, I have much time on my hands – may I employ it to a right use. This even^g H Sweet^g declared the whole affair to poor Jno^s unhappy wife. But she stifly denied every thing with w^{ch} she was charged

Thursday, March 11, 1762

Went up in town about 9 & staid at off: &c 'till near 2. Mr Giles came to office this morn^g with concern in his countenance & informed me he had heard the children begin to be visited by their adversary & beg'd me to go with him in a post chaise this afternoon. Accordingly I went to the Lamb after dinner & we both sat out for Mr Haynes's & staid there 'till past 6. But I was much disturb'd in my mind (tho' discovered but little thereof) at hearing the ridiculous talk of Mrs Haynes who charges the poor children carrying on the cheat themselves (as she terms it) oh may the Lord convince her to the contrary She told us that on Tuesday morn^g Doppey was taken up stairs two storry high & put under the bed but she wou'd not believe but 'twas done

¹⁹⁷ See Durbin (p. 42) and below 11/3.

¹⁹⁸ Mr and Mrs Day* were related to the wife of Rev. James Brown*, who jointly owned the mare Hobby with Dyer.

¹⁹⁹ See 6/3.

by direction of her sister. Doppey says that the witch appeared to her & carry'd her upstairs by her head.

Yesterday morn^g both children were violently agitated in their bodies while in the parlour & sometime today Polleys head was struck against the wainscot once or twice. But notwithstanding they will not believe but 'tis the childrens own doing.²⁰⁰

'tis to be remarked that last Monday was a fortnight since Polley was carried over & Tuesday was a fortnight since Doppey went at which time we were all in expect^a of hearing somewhat extraordinary.²⁰¹ At our return to the Lamb this even^g Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton were wait^g for us.

Friday, March 12, 1762, Publick Fast day

Rose p 6 & p 9 visited Mr Brown & from thence to Bro^r Jn^o & afterwards to St Werburghs & heard an excellent discourse from Mr Symes – the text Ezra 8:23 so we fasted & besought our God for this & He was intreated of us.²⁰²

Staid at home all ye aftern^o & at p 6 went to Mr Symes's & st^d 'till 10. I sent Rob^t to Littleton this aftern^o because of his going to Newport tomor^o.²⁰³

I am much concerned at times for the poor children. & pray the Lord will preserve them & at samtime convince Mrs H & her family, that those innocent children may not be wrongfully accused.

Saturday, March 13, 1762

This morn^g went to Miss F..²⁰⁴ from thence to off: & staid there & c 'till 2.

People begin to be very clamorous about Mr Giles as their suspicions are now confirmed – w^{ch} was that this affair of witchcraft was a meerly contrived thing, to lessen the value of the house part whereof did not belong to Mr Giles²⁰⁵ & now that

²⁰⁰ It is clear from later entries (12/3, 14/3, 16/3, 27/3, 30/3, and especially 6/4) that Mrs Haynes remained sceptical, but Dyer's accounts do not corroborate John Evans' statement in 1824: 'Mrs. Haynes had the two girls to her house, still known as Wick-Court, and put them to sleep in one bed on a middle floor. Noises were heard in the night, as theretofore at the Lamb, and, on visiting the bed, Miss Molly was found wanting. Search being made, she was discovered hiding in an upper room, with newly made scratches on her innocent flesh. Nothing alarmed by these supernatural tokens, Mrs. Haynes directed the natural application of a birchen rod to Miss Molly's sensible posteriors; and Dobby was promised a spice of the same wholesome discipline, if she ventured any like experiment upon her hostess's credulity. The Spirit of Evil from that day departed from these precious lamb-kins, and was no more heard of.' (*Chronological Outline*, p. 279).

²⁰¹ See 18/2 for the spirit's warning that the children should only stay a fortnight in any place to which they were sent.

²⁰² The Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner notes 'a very crowded audience' at his parish church for this day of prayer and supplication established by royal proclamation 'for obtaining pardon of our sins and for averting those heavy judgments which our manifold provocations have mostly justly deserved and for imploring His blessing on the arms of His Majesty by sea and land, and for restoring and perpetuating peace, safety and prosperity'.

²⁰³ See 28/1.

²⁰⁴ Probably Miss Fisher*.

²⁰⁵ See 10/4. This explanation of the affair became the standard one in later histories, although some accounts blame the grandmother Mrs Elmes (and her daughter) and refer to her, not Giles, buying the inn.

part has been sold (2 or 3 days since) & was bou^t by Mr Dyer the sadler²⁰⁶ for Mr Giles.

This morn^g Rob^t went to Newport wth Tho^s Fryers²⁰⁷ note & return'd without the money: But he promises it in a month from this time.

This even^g call'd on Mr Baugh went to Bro^r Jn^o: afterwards call'd on Mr Brown & home p 8.

Sunday, March 14, 1762

Rose p 6 & at 7 mounted Hobbey & rode to Wick where the poor d^r children continued unmolested & Mrs Haynes & her son are firmly of opinion that the whole is a trick of the childrens – May they be convinced of the contrary & may the poor children be preserved from their adversary. I breakfasted there & p 9 sat out from thence – then went to Geo Packers & found poor Salley much better than expected. Sat out from thence at 11 & reached home at 12 – aftern^o went to St Werb^{ghs} in ye even^g visited Mr Symes & went from thence to Mr Giles's also visited Father Davis. From thence to Bro^r Jn^o & came home with AD p 8.

Monday, March 15, 1762

Chief part of this foren^o I was employed in framing a letter to ye board of ordnance & after din^r went to Mr Ames & Mr Baughs to read it to them.²⁰⁸ Afterwards wrote it fair & shewed the same to Mr Elton who approved thereof. Drank tea wth AD at Mrs Marst... – p7 visited Bro^r Jn^o afterw^{ds} at Rachells & home near 9.

I am frequently considering about providing for Sam²⁰⁹ – May the Lord direct me.

Tuesday, March 16, 1762

Went this morn^g to Brewho afterw^{ds} to Capt Cheynes & to Mr Pennys. Then to off & staid there &c 'till 2 – aftern^o near 5 at off: afterw^{ds} visited mother & Bro^r Jn^o where was Mr Yeatman the apothecary²¹⁰ – afterwards went to the Lamb & Mrs Giles appeared very uncar^g about her poor children, especially on consider^g of Mrs Haynes's incredulity who will not suffer the poor children to make their complaint.²¹¹

I spent an hour at Mr Eatons & home p 9.

²⁰⁶ Not identified.

²⁰⁷ A creditor of John Dyer*.

²⁰⁸ See introduction and 17/3, 19/3, 1/4.

²⁰⁹ Samuel Dyer* stayed at Bristol Grammar School until 1764 and was then apprenticed.

²¹⁰ Harry Farr Yeatman (will proved 18 June 1788) was a Dorset woolstapler's son, apprenticed for £105 in 1745 to Sam Smith apothecary and druggist, and freed in 1751 as husband to the daughter of Rice Charleton, a leading apothecary whose partner he became during the 1750s, dealing both as apothecaries and in selling oils and colours. In 1775 he is listed as a druggist at 141 Redcliff Street, and in the same year he and his near-neighbour Henry Durbin* jointly leased some civic land; they also acted as co-executors for one Mary Freeman.

²¹¹ See 11/3.

Wednesday, March 17, 1762

Went this morn^s to Mr Roquet & by Mrs Giles's request desired him to go over to see the children. This morn^s wrote over again ye letter for ye Board ordnance & Mr Baugh sent this even^s – I carry^d ye said letter to Mr Baughs after din^r where was Mr Daniell²¹²

Afterwards visited poor Bro^r Jn^o who is extremely ill & by his desire electrised him this even^s.

At 8 oclock this even^s went to the Lamb & was informed that Mr Roquet has been & ret'd from Mr Haynes's & that the children appear well.

Thursday, March 18, 1762

Visited poor Bro^r Jn^o 3 times today he being extremely ill – This aftern^o visited Rachell where was Mr Hawksworth also call'd on Mrs Pope²¹³ this ev^s who has been very ill – I step'd to the Lamb this ev^s & heard that ye children are well. Lord pardon my weakness & whatever I have done amiss.

This ev^s Sis^r Dy^{rs} intimate fr^d Mrs Sprake came to visit her.

Friday, [March] 19^h, [1762]

Sat out at 8 for Littleton & ret^d from thence at 12 – our magazine at Littleton is nearly full & in all probability the works must soon stand still – Every thing at present wears a gloomy aspect! My poor Bro^r Jn^o in a bad state of health & his tempor^a affairs in equally as bad condition. My poor parents unable to provide for themselves²¹⁴ – Bro^r Sam unprovided for & probably I may soon loose my employ – May the Lord be my help & may all my care be cast upon Him.

After din^r called on Mr Ames & he proposes the works going on until we receive an ans^r from ye Board Ordnance.

Visited Bro^r Jn^o who is somewhat better than yesterday. But his poor wife still harping on ye same string. Mr Sweeting & Sprake was there also

Called at Mrs Allisons from thence to Mr Symes's & spent the even^s there.

Saturday, March 20, 1762

May ye Lord pardon me & humble me under a sense of my guilt! May I unfeigned.. resolve to be a poor pilgrim! May Jesus give me a pilgrim spirit! & help me to live here as seeing things which are invisible!

This morning read part of Justin Martyr & Tertullians apologys for the Christian religion (lent me by Mr Symes) wherein are mention of daemons & evil spirits together with daemoniacs of the Christians in those days dispossessing those who

²¹² In 1756 Dyer had posted the account books of Francis Daniell 'at his lodging room at his mothers in the Customs House', and he was trading to Africa in 1759, but he was bankrupt in 1762. In 1775 a Francis Daniell gentleman lived at 39 St Philips Plain and in 1778 the subscribers to Thomas Malton's *Complete Treatise on Perspective* included Mr Daniel FRS (mistake for Francis?) merchant in Bristol. See 18/1 for Mrs Daniell, perhaps his mother?

²¹³ See 3/3.

²¹⁴ See Thomas? Dyer*.

were possessed by evil spirits whereby it appears to have been no uncommon things in those days. As also shews the great power Xtians were then possessed of, thro' the great prevailing name of Jesus Christ.²¹⁵

This afterno visited poor JD – Drank tea at Mr Allisons – He inform'd me of his going a journey to Plym^o. Since w^{ch} a whim has seized me of going likewise a journey. Oh Jesus guide & direct & preserve me from whatever may prove an evil.

The even^e went to Mr Eatons & home p 9.

Sunday, March 21, 1762

In foren^o at St Werb^{gh} afterw^{ds} staid at home at 5 went to Room & heard Mr Jn^o Westley.²¹⁶ Afterwards visited Rachel & wrote a few lines to our d^r friend Mrs S – & my soul was somewhat quickn^d. there. Oh may ye Lord awaken the drowsy powers of my poor soul & make me sensible & keep me sensible of the most important things.

Monday, [March] 22^d, [1762]

This morn^e p 8 went to Brewho & st^d 'till near 10 then to off: Mr Deane sent for me & shewed a letter he reced from Capt Powell of ye Bristol Merch^t²¹⁷ & desires me to write a few lines to Bro^r James directing him to ship ye brimstone²¹⁸ he has b^{..} on board said vessell. which I did – & at^{..} JD thereof this even^e – This day AD & I dined at Mr Symes's & she staid ye aftern^o & at p 7 I went up & we both came home p 10.

It appears to me that the evil spirit ye prince of darkness is devising mischief against me! But may Jesus be my help! & may I be enabled to trust in thee o Lord.

Tuesday, March 23, 1762

Notwithstand^e I find within me a will to do good yet evil is also present with me – Lately there has been many reason^{ss} & specious pretences ab^t going a journey for acco^t of ye pow^r work whereas 'tis probable ye chief motive was to gratify my own will – but it seems that will is disappointed of its hope. May I praise God for all things – Enable me o Lord to give myself entirely to thee & to be thine alone.

²¹⁵ William Reeves' edition of *The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minutius Felix, in Defence of the Christian Religion*, was published in 1709 and again in 1716.

²¹⁶ The Room or (as it now known) New Room between Horsefair and Broadmead, was first bought as a meeting-room for the religious societies in 1739, but enlarged into its current form as a chapel in 1748. John Wesley (1707–91), co-founder of Wesleyan Methodism, often visited Bristol, and Dyer records attending many sermons by him at the New Room and several meetings with him, including Wesley coming to tea at his house on 9 October 1755. He was never a Wesleyan member himself (unlike his wife?), and merely noted Wesley's death in 1791, with no appreciative comment about him (unlike his brother Charles), perhaps because of John Wesley's eventual support for the separatist tendencies within Methodism. Wesley's Journal passes very rapidly over the second half of March (spent in Bristol) but on Saturday 27th he records: 'I heard a large account of the children near Lawford's Gate which has made so much noise here. The facts are too glaring to be denied. But how are they to be accounted for? By natural or supernatural agency? Contend who list about this.' See *ODNB* entry.

²¹⁷ The Bristol Merchant was an 80-ton snow, built in 1749 and owned by Nathaniel Wraxall (see 8/4), which sailed to Boston and back in autumn 1762. Several Powells operated as ships' masters, including Valentine in 1754–6 and Thomas in 1775. Mr Powell might also be John Powell, the leading agent in Bristol slaving voyages 1755–76, who is listed as merchant at 31 College Green in 1775.

²¹⁸ Sulphur, one of the chief ingredients of gunpowder, imported via London.

This morn^g went to Mr Giles's but could not learn any thing material hath happened to ye children – visited Bro^r Jn^o. This aftern^o took walk with Mr Penny Drank tea with Sis^r Hopkins – the committee met this even^g consisting of Mess^{rs} Ames, Baugh, Miller, Wansey. Afterw^{ds} step'd to ye Room & heard one letter read concern^g the Russians.²¹⁹

Wednesday, March 24, 1762

This aftern^o visited Rachell – May her words of instruction fasten in my soul as a nail in a sure place – reced an encourag^g lre from our d^r friend Mrs S.

At noon went with Mr Adlam to St Peters Hospital²²⁰ & saw the electrical machine there.

This day advice is reced of Martiniq.. hav^g surrendered to ye English forces²²¹

This even^g Mr Eltons second son was buried & ye 3rd son is likely soon to follow. w^{ch} is an affecting circumstance he hav^g buried 2 sons already within a short space of time.²²²

This ev^g visited Bro^r Jn^o & home p 8.

Thursday, March 25, 1762

This foren^o went to St Werb^{ghs} & heard a gift serm^o²²³ from Mr Symes from these words “unless ye be converted & become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven” with which my heart acquiesced & oh may I experience that true conversion to God w^{ch} was treated of in said descourse.

In the morn^g went to Mr A with ye branch of ye Tryal²²⁴ but was bid to come Mondy next.

Aftern^o visited Bro^r Jn^o Drank tea at Sis^r Hop^s with AD – then to off & st^d ‘till 8 then home.

Friday, [March] 26^h, [1762]

This morn^g p 8 sat out for Littleton & ret^d home near 12 went to off & staid ‘till 2 – at 5 ret^d to off: p 7 took short walk visited Bro^r Jn^o & also Rachell oh may I benefit by every visit.

²¹⁹ Perhaps regarding a Methodist mission to Russia?

²²⁰ The city workhouse had included its own medical facilities since its opening in 1699, and rivalled the Infirmary in providing medical care, though for paupers rather than charity cases (as catered for at the Infirmary).

²²¹ Martinique surrendered on 15 February, and news reached Bristol on the 24th, judging by a poem on its surrender dated Bristol 24 March which appears, along with long accounts of the ‘capture of Martinico’, in *FFBJ* 27 March.

²²² See Isaac Elton* and 28/1 for the deaths of Abraham and Jacob Elton. His third son (Isaac) did not die as feared.

²²³ An endowed sermon. The text is Matthew 18:3.

²²⁴ Meaning unclear, but the Tryall was a slaving ship, registered first in 1744 and again in 1754; its whereabouts between 1757 and 1763 are unclear, but it was re-registered at Bristol as a prize on 12 February 1763, owned by Henry Bright* and Jeremiah Ames*) and left Bristol on 6 March 1763 for Old Calabar then Jamaica, not returning until June 1764. It operated as a privateer on this voyage and in June 1763 the Susanna from San Domingo arrived in Bristol after being taken as a prize by her. Alternatively, the ‘tryal’ in question may refer to trials at the gunpowder works.

Saturday, March 27, 1762

This morn^g called at Sweet^{ss} Rogers²²⁵ Rock²²⁶ Cust^o House – & ye remaind^r of foren^o at off: &c I had some conversation with Mr Whittuck of Hanham concern^g ye affair of Giles's children & he believes it a trick of ye children but can bring no other proof than imagination. Jo Coates also seems to be of the same class.

This aftern^o took walk with my friend Penny & drank tea with him at Miss Clarks at Barton Hundred²²⁷ – at our return called at the Lamb. & find Mr & Mrs Haynes are not yet convinced that ye extraordinary transactions w^{ch} has happened is not ye childrens own performance.

This ev^g wrote lre to Bro^r James called on Sweeting – left with him Fryers note.²²⁸

Sunday, March 28, 1762

foren^o & aftern^o went to St Werb^{ghs} visited Bro^r Jn^o twice today and was somewhat affect^d to observe him so ill & his poor unhappy wife seems miserable & discontented.

Call'd on Rachell this even^g but made very little stay there being company. & my poor spirit was fluttered at going in & coming out of the court. Such power hath the fear of man over me – My spirit is somtimes as 'twere convulsed or it may be compared to the tide or a rapid torrent such is its violent motion. But if I am enabled to resign myself to ye Lord in silence or lye as a simple existence without any activity of my own the Lord calms the raging of the sea & in both respects this has been my experience this even^g.

After I came from Rach^s went to Quakers meet^g & then home.

Monday, March 29, 1762 [for pages pasted on top of this entry in the diary, see 17–21 December]

Rose this morn^g about 5 in order to carry a letter to ye Glos^r stage coach, for Fryer .. Newport, but no person being up I went to the Room & heard Mr Jn^o Wesleys farewell serm^o & he having set out from hence for Ireland this morn^g²²⁹ & afterwards I was vexed to find the stage coach sat out at 7 o'clock & I did not send the letter.

At 9 went up in town afterw^{ds} Mr Ames's, Rocks²³⁰, Bonbonous²³¹, Mr Camplins²³² – staid at off &c 'till 2. after din^r visited poor Bro^r Jn^o. Drank tea with Rev^d Mr Brown & at 7 I went with him to George Barnes a journeyman smith to a coachmaker liv^g opposite the bottom of Glos^r Lane next door to Kingston²³³ (called on Mr Penny in our

²²⁵ See 28/1 above.

²²⁶ Thomas Rock, merchant and shipowner, went bankrupt in August 1764. In 1771 Thomas and Mary Rock sold the New Fire Office in Corn Street, and in 1775 'Rock' (with no occupation) is listed at 5, Avenue to St James Square. In 1791 Dyer noted 'poor Mr Rock distiller in St Thomas Street drowned himself'.

²²⁷ The White Hart Inn at Lower Easton was commonly called Barton Hundred.

²²⁸ See above 12–13/3.

²²⁹ Wesley's Journal records that he 'came to the New Passage [see 12/4] a little before nine' on his journey to Ireland (via Chester), remaining there until the end of July.

²³⁰ See 27/3.

²³¹ See Bonbonus*

²³² See 20/4.

²³³ Not identified.

way but he cou'd not go with us) & this man gave us a very remarkable account concerning himself, but his heart seem'd ready to burst & he was greatly affected before he began the relation as well as when giving us the same he shedding tears several times.²³⁴

He said that about 7 months ago (vizt in the month of August last) he was seized one night when in bed with a trembling of his whole body & he heard a voice in the room, or rather 2 or 3 different voices w^{ch} seemed to sport themselves with seeing him in that scituation. He could hear them sometimes say see how the dog sweats the sweat runs off his legs. I cou'd tear out his heart if I had a mind to & a great deal of such kind of language. & he was serv'd in this manner 3 nights successively w^{ch} fatigued & tormented the poor fellow exceedingly. The last of said nights he started up in the bed & asked "What he had done that he was thus torment.. 'em – He was replied "get up, but first kiss your wife & tell her you are going to take a walk (he did so being very desirous of getting rid of this torment if possible) & when he got down stairs the voice bid him put on his other breeches – He did so – then told him to weigh ½ oz tea & ¼ lb sugar. But before he had time to do this his wife was come downstairs – the voice bid him purswade his wife to go up stairs – He did so & succeeded. Then he went to weigh the tea but the voice bid him put it in his pocket without weigh^s He did so (vizt his wastecoast pocket) He then was going to weigh some lump sugar – But it told him not to stay to weigh it but make haste & put it loose into his pocket without weigh^s because his wife was coming. He obeyed then was told to go to the bakers next door for a sixpenny loaf & say that he was going to the country – He was likewise told to take ½ a pound of butter out of the cellar. But however the voice bid him make haste leave that 'till another time Accordingly he set out & was guided by something suggesting in his mind which was the right way but not by a voice out of himself w^{ch} was the case before. Accordingly he sat out (it being as he thinks about 5 o'clock in the morning) & was hurried along in a terrible sweat & by & by a voice told him shou'd any person meet him he must enquire if they knew of any person who kept a fighting cock. It happened that he met 2 or 3 persons & he did as ordered. At length he came to a dismal looking ho.. where the voice ordered him to stop & knock at ye door. He did so but no person came out. & he said to himself "this looks like a witches house" upon w^{ch} he was deprived of the use of his limbs & a voice said "a witch house! I'll witch ye" & seiz'd with universal trembling when he pray'd to the Lord to help him & he was soon delivered & then left this house & was guided to one or two houses or rather hutts in Kingswood to enquire after a fighting cock. & at last was guided to Betty Cottles or Bett.. Hill NB Her husbands name (who is now living) is Cottle but she is sometimes called by the name Hill her maiden name.²³⁵ Here he enquired for said woman who was out in the field milking. & he waited 'till she returned & then delivered the tea & sugar telling her that the butter & bread she shou'd have when she called at his house with milk. NB When he bou' ye loaf he thought it wou'd prove cumbersome & therefore carryed it to his own house & left it there with design (as he says) of giving it to this Cottle together with ye butter above mentioned because he was positive the voice was her voice.

²³⁴ Compare Brown's version in his letter to Dartmouth of 5 April: each gives a substantial number of details not found in the other.

²³⁵ Isaac Cottle married Elizabeth Hill at St Philip and Jacob 30 April 1752.

Betty reced ye sugar & tea together with 1/2 in cash & took no notice only told him he should have some bread & cheese & drink some milk He did so. & felt that he seemed to be deliv^d from his torment. After he had finished eating Betty Cottle sat out to town with him with her payl of milk & on the road told him she advis'd him not to go out this day for if he did he wou'd get drun.. & mischief would befall him. & said she remembered Mr Grimes's man on the Weare NB this poor man some months ago drowned himself.²³⁶

Barnes & Cottle parted before he came to his house & he then went home & seemed pretty easy but was strictly ordered by the voice not to tell his wife what had happened. Accordingly he pretended to have been taking a walk & sat down & drank some tea with his wife. But presently after it was suggested to his mind that he had made a compact with the Devil & wou'd go to hell. Which put him in great agony & consternation & he cried out to his wife to take the knife out of his way. Soon after which his wife sent for a methodist preacher to come & pray with him but poor Barnes was in such miserable horror of mind that he cou'd not kneel down nor say the Lords prayer tho' after somtime (it seems) he became able to kneel & confessed the whole affair. Soon after which Betty Cottle came with milk to the house & they charged her with being the author of this poor mans affliction but she denyed & said she wou'd fetch the things again which he had brought her & then went away. Mrs Barnes then procured a sheep's heart (by some person's advice²³⁷) & stick'd it full of crooked pins & put it in the fire & while it was burning Bett Cottle returned with the tea & sugar in a violent rage & declared she was never in such torment in her life before, her inside was so hot & she continued near the door & at ye neighbours until the afternoon or ye evening very much exclaiming against poor Barnes. The poor man has been tormented ever since August last without any long intervals except about 6 w^{ks} in which time, he ..rd very little of his adversary. But for about a fortnight past he has been very much affrighted almost every night by evill spirits talking to him when in bed & threatning him! & he has lately felt somthing creeping up his legs like unto grasshoppers – but it has been often declared to him that they have no power over his wife, she being big with child. But they threaten what they will do to her by and by. One night he heard them (the spirits) say that he (Barnes) “had broke mother's arm” aluding to a morn^e when he went out of ye door with a candle it was blow'd out very suddenly & he heard a flutter^e over his head w^{ch} he struck at & afterwards kept waving his stick all the way to the Drawbridge²³⁸ & to the shop near ye Boars Head²³⁹ College Green where he works.

Tuesday, March 30, 1762

This day I have been chiefly employed in writing most of the remarkable transactions I can recollect concern^e the Lawford Gate affair with a design to give to Mr Penny who had some thoughts of publishing a narrative of that extraordinary affair with remarks

²³⁶ Not identified.

²³⁷ Brown clarifies that this was by the advice of the ‘white witch of Bedminster’, for whom see below 16/10, 22/11, 30/11 and 7/12 and Durbin (pp. 54–5).

²³⁸ Over the Frome, completed in 1714 but rebuilt in 1755; its operating mechanism was still considered very impressive in 1793–4.

²³⁹ At 5 Limekiln Lane.

thereupon. But having spent this even^g with him in comp^a of Mr Eaton I find his mind is altered fearing it might hurt the minds of the persons by filling them with jealousys & fears

This morn^g I called on Mr Hen Durbin who inform'd me that he was with Mr Giles at Mr Haynes's yesterd^y & dined there, but they all persist in the opinion of the whole affair being a trick of the children's tho' they have made no detection thereof.

This ev^g drank tea at Mrs Allison's with AD & ½ p 6 went to Mr Pennys & st^d 'till 10.

This ev^g sent Jos Horwoods²⁴⁰ lre by one Mr Wallington²⁴¹ for Fryer of Newport.

Wednesday, [March] 31st, [1762]

Went to the Lamb this morn^g & desired Mr Giles to furnish me with ye most remarkable occurrences w^{ch} has happened in his presence. Met with Geo Roach ye hallier²⁴² at Monk^l...²⁴³ this morn^g who inform'd me that being at Mr Giles's ye 1st January last about 8 in ye even^g in ye barr & siting within 6 feet of ye fire he saw ye poker arise from where it stood near the fire & with great swiftness seemed (by an invisible hand) to be throw'd towards him & fell at his feet & no person in ye room was so near ye fire as himself- the 2 children & several of Mr Giles's family were present. Visited Mr Symes near 11- afterw^{ds} visited Bro^r Jn^o - st^d on Ch^{ge} after dinner visited Barnes ye bottom of Glos^r Lane & hope ye affliction he has lately expe[rienced] will prove serviceable - He has not felt anything extraord^y since Mr Brown & I was there.

Mr Brown Mrs Brown Mr Badderly spent this even^g at our house.

May ye Lord have mercy on me.

Thursday, April 1, 1762

This morning reced lre from Mr Strachey with acco^t that our petition totally rejected by ye Board Ordnance w^{ch} I also shewed Mr Ames Mr Elton Mr Deane Mr Miller Mr Wansey & they seem enclined to send by land Liverpool.²⁴⁴

Aftern^o st^d at home 'till p 4 then to off & st^d there &c 'till 8 - Draw'd up an abstract of Mr Giles's affair for Mr Brown.²⁴⁵

This morn^g my sp^{ts} were greatly agitated w^{ch} discovers ye weakness of my nerves.

Friday, [April] 2^d, [1762]

Sat out for Litⁿ about 8 - call'd on Mr Hipsley & on my return call'd on Miss Fisher with some reluctancy as I must give her pain when I come. Mr Wallis was order'd

²⁴⁰ Probably Joseph Horwood, attorney and notary public at 12 Corn Street in 1775. See also 30/8.

²⁴¹ Not identified.

²⁴² A Widow Roach hallier was at 11 Whitson Court in 1775, close to Monkley's (see next note).

²⁴³ This is probably Samuel Munckley (1724-1801) merchant and sugarrefiner, who was master of the Merchant Venturers in 1768 and in 1775 lived at 53 Queen Square, with a counter at 8 Princes Street, while 'Monkley and co sugarrefiners' were at 8 Whitson Court.

²⁴⁴ See below 17/4, 22/4, 26/4, 1-3/5.

²⁴⁵ Presumably the diary entries included with Brown's letter to Dartmouth of 5 April, reproduced below.

today to stop the mills working after tomorrow. Went to Change & st^d 'till 2. After din^r took a serious walk & call'd at Brewhouse.

How uncertain are my intentions having design'd 2 or 3 things but at last choose neither of them –

Call'd on Rachell at Mr Davis's she came last Tuesday.

Drank tea wth Mrs Marston staid at off 'till near 9.

This day Mr Giles's children were fetch'd from Mr Haynes's: Polley being left at a house in Kingswood²⁴⁶ & Doppey brought home – they have been unmolested 3 weeks since.

Saturday, April 3, 1762

This morn^g went up to the Lamb – visited Bro^r Jn^o call'd on Mr And^{ws}²⁴⁷ Staid on Change & c 'till 2 after din^r went to Mr Symes's & st^d the aftern^o with him – near 7 at off & home p 8.

How variable & changeable is my poor mind! It has lately been often plan^g & schem^g about go^g a journey into Cornwall. Whereas when sedate & calm it determines that that wou'd be best let alone. Because if pow^r is wanted there & they cannot get it from Lond^o they will naturally apply here. & then for while this scheme subsides but by & by revives again. Lord help me to depend on thee & lay a side all my own planning & scheming. At another time going in search after d[og]wood²⁴⁸ has prevailed but that scheme was crush'd today by Mr A^s.

This even^g Mr Symes gave me a little tract lately sent him by Mr Langcake being extracts from Mr Laws writings & entituled "Truths of the most important concern to every soul of man".²⁴⁹

Sunday, April 4, 1762

Lord make me truly thankful for all mercies – This morn^g I had several thoughts about going to sacra^t at St Nich^s but they were not distressing thoughts. In general I seem'd

²⁴⁶ Specified as Nurse Cooke's on 6/4.

²⁴⁷ Probably Charles Andrews, grocer in Castle St, but later manager of Ames* & Ireland's sugar house (see 24/10) before his death in 1785.

²⁴⁸ Normally the plant *cornus sanguinea*, but also applied to *rhamnus frangula*, the alder buckthorn or black alder, which is probably the meaning here (see 18/6). Every time the gunpowder company experimented with making stronger powder they had to obtain supplies of dogwood charcoal from Guildford.

²⁴⁹ This must be *Truths of the Most Important Concern to Every Soul of Man*, a 20-page pamphlet extracted from various of William Law's* writings, sold for 18d a dozen or 10s a hundred, although the British Library edition is from 1769. Thomas Langcake was a clerk in the Bank of England and editor of Jacob Boehme's works between 1764 and 1781, as well as co-editing William Law's *Collection of Letters* in 1760. Dyer met him when he visited London in 1763, and records seeing Langcake at Symes's* house in Bristol in both 1767 and 1774. Langcake (misspelled as 'Landcate') discussed Law with the Quaker Sarah Fox in 1779 and in 1788 visited her with Thomas Mills (see 13/1) and the writer on universal restitution, Rev. Richard Clarke (1723–1802). Dyer also records Langcake and Clarke discussing alchemy at Dyer's house in 1788. Langcake seems to have moved to Bristol by then (and was still there in 1795) and lodged with a Mrs Field in Hillgrove Street. Dyer reports Langcake relating to him the 'remarkable circumstances' reported in *The Glory of the Heavenly City and Blessings of Departed Saints Graciously Manifested in a Vision to a Young Lady of Bristol* (Bath, 1782) which records the visions of Field's daughter during a near-death experience on 10 October 1781, as well as other supernatural disturbances in their house.

in suspense but at last intended going to St Werb^{ghs}. However in my way to church my mind inclined to go to St Nich^s with w^{ch} I complied & have no reason to be sorry that I indulged the impulse. The Lord pitys weakness & infirmities & should we err in a matter where our motive is good he certainly accepts ye intentions and pitys & pardons – O Lord help me to be totally devoted to thee! & overcome every obstacle & hindrance to that total surrender of myself to thee.

Aftern^o went to St Werb^{ghs} & spent ev^s at home.

Monday, April 5, 1762

p 8 call'd on Mr Penny & lent him small tract²⁵⁰ – then took walk alone & near 10 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2. Mr Wallis came to town today & Mr Ames proposed to him to go to the pow^r mills near Lond^o.²⁵¹

Aftern^o took walk with AD went to off: at 5 & near 7 took walk call'd at Barnes's²⁵² & sat sometime with his wife who gave me some acco^t concerning her husbands troubles – she says that at first she look'd on it as his fancy that he was whimsical &c. But one night as he sat talking to his invisible attendants his under jaw was twisted round almost to his ear w^{ch} greatly frightened her & then she began to believe there was some reality in what he had told her. Sometimes she says the spirits wou'd tell him she had concealed money from him & some other things which she saith was true, & that no person living was privy to it which was another convincing proof to her.

Afterw^{ds} called on Mr Eaton & also at the Lamb.

Tuesday, April 6, 1762

Rose at 6 & went to Nurse Cookes in Kingswood where is Polley Giles & made a particular enquiry concern^s the old affair. & from what she said I have reason to think the infernal adversary yet continues to persecute her. She assures me that almost every day since the first fortnight w^{ch} they were at Mr Haynes's, she or her sis^r Doppey or both heard or felt something of that accursed spirit. 'tho not in so strong a manner as when at home. But they kept it to themselves on account of Mrs Haynes's menaces & threats.²⁵³ Doppey when going alone one day to the little house, was throw'd down in the garden & dirted by the witch who appeared to her in the shape of a woman as heretofore.

Return'd home p 9 – then to off: & staid there &c 'till 2– after din^r visited Bro^r Jn^o. This even^s the committee met consist^s of Mr Baugh, Ames, Miller, Deane, Worgan & consulted about send^s powder to Liverp^o but it seems a perplexing affair.

This morn^s left Hoskins's note²⁵⁴ with Zeph Fry who promises to send it to Player or some other friend at Ross.²⁵⁵

I wish it may prove good.

²⁵⁰ See 3/4.

²⁵¹ The main gunpowder mills supplying the government were around London (in Surrey and Essex) and Wallis came from there in 1755 and would return there in 1765.

²⁵² See 29/3.

²⁵³ See 11/3.

²⁵⁴ See 28/1 and 19/4.

²⁵⁵ Zephaniah Fry* was a Quaker (or 'friend'), and presumably had contacts with Quakers in Ross-on-Wye.

This even^g read Bunyan & rank'd myself with the character of Talkative Shame &c.²⁵⁶

Polley told me this morn^g that her elbow has been frequently jerk'd when going to drink & that one day she had a violent blow on her elbow (while at Mr Haynes's) & no person present but Mrs Haynes's sis^r who was soon perswaded to believe that ye sound w^{ch} she heard was occasion by the crack of her elbow.

Wednesday, April 7, 1762

This morn^g about 11 o'clock sent Rob^t to Newport who ret^d this even^g with acco^t that Fryer has absconded & been missing about 3 days since w^{ch} is bad news to tell Bro^r James.

This morn^g took walk called on Mo^r Davis: Mrs Allison: Mr Brown: Sweeting & at 9 home. Then up in town & staid all ye morn^g at office. After din^r took walk and then again to off & staid there &c (tho' no business to do in ye powder way) 'till 7 called on Rachell & near 8 at Helpful Society call'd at Sweetings & home at 9.

Thursday, April 8, 1762

Called on M^s Fisher this morn^g & reced of her £20 bank note – then up in town called on Bro^r Jn^o both him and I pretty much vexed about Fryers note – called on Mr Sweeting & beg'd him to go today to Newport about this affair wth which he comply'd & sat out at 10 o'clock.

Staid at off: &c 'till 2 – after dinner went to Mr Ames & Mr Baugh & ord^d insur^a on ye brimstone²⁵⁷ com^g from Lon.. at Wraxall & Blakes office²⁵⁸ per Mr A^s order.

At 5 home Mr Southcote drank tea with us – took walk p 7– called on Bro^r Jn^o & home.

I find Mr Sweeting ret^d f^m Newport this even^g but his journey proved useless.

Friday, April 9, 1762 Good Friday or the crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus

Went this morn^g to St Nich^s & sacra^t & afterw^{ds} p 1 went to off &c home & near 3 set out for Littleton on foot (Mr Brown hav^g ye mare) & ret^d home p 7 after an agreeable walk. This day which ought to be observed as a very solemn day by those who pretend to observe times & seasons is very much abus..

²⁵⁶ The character of 'Talkative' 'of Prating Row' in Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* initially impresses Faithful with his talk of 'vanity of earthly things and benefit of things above', 'necessity for new birth' etc, but (as Christian warns Faithful) 'he knows but only to talk of them' and by 'his wicked life' causes 'many to stumble and fall', and when Faithful challenges him on his experience 'Talkative at first began to blush' and finally angrily leaves Faithful, who calls him 'a shame to all professors'. Presumably Dyer read Bunyan with a view to giving a copy to Polley Giles, as he takes her an abridgement on 19/4.

²⁵⁷ Insurance for the safe delivery of brimstone (see 22/3).

²⁵⁸ Nathaniel Wraxall (1725–81) was a merchant (father of the memoirist Sir Nathaniel Wraxall) who, despite going bankrupt in 1755, was SMV Warden in 1762 and is listed as an America merchant at 17 St Augustine's Back in 1775; after a further bankruptcy in 1776 he was made city swordbearer in 1778. Dyer was responsible for dealing with the accounts of his estate after his death. William Blake was a merchant at 16 Dove Street in 1775.

Saturday, April 10, 1762

Near 9 went up in town afterw^{ds} call'd at Capt Cheyne's where was Mr Burche & his wife²⁵⁹ to whom I gave some acco^t of ye witchcraft at ye Lamb – afterw^{ds} at off & staid there 'till 2 – after din^r went to Mr Symes & took walk with him. & drank tea at his home, in comp^a with Mr Camp[lin] & ½ p 6 went to off: afterwards call'd on Mr Eaton: took a short walk: & then call'd with him at the Lamb. & Mrs Elmes related to us the whole affair concerning the selling of the house in w^{ch} are some very odd circumstances, tho' she declares they knew nothing of the house being sold until about a month before the sale. Whereas the children were afflicted 2 or 3 months before – therefore a very unlikely story that ye affair of the children was only with a design to lessen the value of the house.²⁶⁰

Sunday, [April] 11th, [1762] Easter Day

Rose p 6 my mind heavy, stupid & confused. Went to St Werb^{ghs} & sacra^t in ye morn^s & at 4 in aftern^o went to ye Mayors Chappel²⁶¹ & heard an excellent discourse from Mr Symes “Blessed & holy is he that hath part in ye first resurrection on such ye second death hath no power.” Revelation 20:6 this was ye text.

Afterwards spent 2 hours very agreeably with poor Rach^l May ye Lord sanctify our convers... to ye profit of both our souls.

This morn^g I discovered ye keys of ye w[are] house had been neglected to be bro.. home yesterday which caused the fire to kindle but blessed be the Lord it did not break forth. Praised be the Lord for restraining my activity in some measure.

Oh ye deeps of corruption I may complain of for when in Xtian conversation ye lust of concupiscence arises.

Monday, April 12, 1762

This morn^s at ½ p 12 I sat out on Hobby with AD behind me & rode to ye New Passage²⁶² to breakfast but felt ye wind extremely cold being chiefly in my face going & therefore rendered the ride unpleasant – we returned home to dinner about 1

After din^r visited Bro^r Jn^o ret^d home p 4 – afterwards went to Mr Symes's & spent this even^g there.

Tuesday, [April] 13, [1762]

Rose p 8 – went up in town p 9 & staid at off & c 'till 2. Bro^r Hopkins & wife din'd with us today – after din^r took walk – also went to St Nicholas & heard Mr Symes there.²⁶³ p 6 called on Rachel at Mr Davis & staid 'till 8. poor Rach^l now experiences dissection.

²⁵⁹ Thomas Birch haberdasher was operating in 1752. In 1775 a Martha Burch widow lived at 4 Guy Street, while a James Birch gent was at 33 Old Market.

²⁶⁰ See 13/3.

²⁶¹ St Marks in College Green, used as the civic chapel.

²⁶² This was 9 ½ miles from Bristol (closer than Aust Passage – see 27/8 – but a longer (3–mile) crossing of the Severn).

²⁶³ The Tuesday afternoon sermon at St Nicholas (normally given by James Brown*) was soon to move to St Werburghs (see 7/9).

Wednesday, April 14, 1762

This morn^g took a ride with AD before breakfast & at 10 sat out again by myself & rode to Rich^d Coopers at Wharton²⁶⁴ & told him we shou^d not want ye quantity of charcoal this year which was intended. Went from thence across the moor, through Nailsey & Backwell to Littleton & gave Jn^o Battle a medicine for his boy who has ye ague.²⁶⁵ Mr Wallis is ill with ye same disease & is tak^s medicine. He tryed cold water (by my prescription) lest it prove ineffectual – reached home ½ p 5 went to office – afterw^{ds} visited Bro^r Jn^o.

[Extra page pasted over here]²⁶⁶ I was disturb^d in dream^s last ni^t I tho^t I went to Mr H^s house to see P:G: that when I ent^d ye kⁿ ye cloth was laid & P: G: siting near ye table I sal^d her & sat down soon after w^{ch} she hurry^d open her stays & that instant I tho^t I felt num^{rs} of little crabs runn up my body w^{ch} was the very same w^{ch} she felt & it made me shud^r when I had waked. Soon after came in Mrs H: to whom pay^s my respects I enq^d after Mr H: & also her son who she said were very well & point^s to a part of ye room said there is my son who I tho^t stood at a desk (a compt^s house desk) writ^s bare headed & then he just spoke to me but I wondered he had not spoken before being in the same room

Thursday, April 15, 1762

This morn^g I was terrified in my sleep by a dream. wherein I thought I was in comp^a with Polley Giles at Mr Haynes's & that both she & I had numbers of small crabs crawling up our body conveyed there by diabolical enchantment. Which made me shudder & made great impression on my mind after I was awake.

Went to Mr Baughs p 9 & also at Mr Ames's & by their order sent Robert over to ye Wooley carr^r at Wick – vizt Rich^d Strange²⁶⁷ desir^s him to come to Mr Baugh Saturday morn^g. Mr Ames also agreed that our workmen at Littleton shall be allow^d 2/ per week while they are unemployed²⁶⁸ to which Mr Miller & Mr Deane consented 'on Change.

After din^r took walk. Call^d at Brewho Drank tea with AD & Sis^r Hop^s then to off: & home p 8.

Friday, April 16, 1762

Near 7 this morn^g sat out for Littleton. Left direction with Mr Wallis to acquaint ye men that 2/ per week will be allow^d while unemployed. & that they will be expected

²⁶⁴ See also 18/6. This is presumably Walton-in-Gordano, close to the Elton* family's Clevedon properties.

²⁶⁵ An acute or violent fever.

²⁶⁶ This extra page, which clearly relates to the dream reported on 15/4, may come from a note Dyer took of this dream when he woke: it uses more abbreviations than his normal entries, such as n^t (night), tho^t (thought), sal^d (saluted), num^{rs} (numbers) and enq^d (enquired). It certainly makes overt a sexual dimension to Dyer's feelings about Polley Giles (and her stays!) not otherwise acknowledged in the diaries. See below 15/5 for the angry exchange with young Mr Haynes which Dyer sees as relating to 'the dream of the crabs', which may be why he kept this fragment.

²⁶⁷ Not identified. Wick was on the Chippenham road leading to Woolley, north of Bath.

²⁶⁸ See 16/4, 23/4.

to come to work again whenever we may have an occasion. Three men will be kept all next week all ye rest are to be discharg'd tomor^o night.

Ret^d home near 12 went to off & staid 'till 2. After din^r visited Bro^r Jn^o called at Halls afterw^{ds} went to College.²⁶⁹ spoke to Mr Brown who intends enquiry after grass for our mare in the country. Call'd at Mrs Allison's drank tea there in comp^a with Rachell & spent somtime there. Near 7 went to off: & afterw^{ds} went to Tabernacle²⁷⁰ & heard Mr Whitfield.

May ye Lord convert my soul.

Saturday, April 17, 1762

Lay in bed late this morn^g went in town p 9 & staid at off: &c 'till 2. Mr A^s talks of send^g ye Wooley carr^r with powder to Liverpool. After din^r took walk alone call'd at Brewh^o: & at off: at 4 afterw^{ds} home & near 6 called on Mr Penny & took a serious & profitable walk together & at 8 home.

Sunday, [April] 18^h, [1762]

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o where I heard two excellent discourses from Mr Symes.

Monday, [April] 19^h, [1762]

Rose between 5 & 6 & took walk to Nurse Cookes & visited Polley Giles who continues well & quite free from her adversary. I staid ½ an hour & then return'd home. Left with her an abridgment of Bunyans Pilgrims.²⁷¹ Ret^d home at 9 afterw^{ds} at Mr Ames^s & Mr Baughs ye latter indisposed with ye gout. Went to ye bank with Mr Worgan & reced a bill on Lond^o for £400

Staid on Change &c 'till 2. after din^r went to Zep Frys & to Morgan²⁷² & took walk with Mr Penny. Call'd on Mr Brown & drank tea with him. He has agreed with Mr Griffin Inn^r of Chew Stoke for grass for our mare.²⁷³ To whom I am to send her tomorrow. p 6 at off: afterw^{ds} call'd Mr Daltera's²⁷⁴ then to Room & home at 8.

²⁶⁹ Bristol Cathedral on College Green.

²⁷⁰ Dyer was present on 13 July 1753 when the first stone was laid for the Tabernacle in Penn Street in the Old Orchard, after a sermon at Smiths Hall (the previous meeting place of Whitefield's* society), and he also heard Whitefield preach at the opening on 25 November.

²⁷¹ See 6/4.

²⁷² If not the tailor George Morgan (see 15/11) this may be the druggist and colourman James Morgan of 34 Corn Street. Dyer discussed him in July 1757, noting that he was an 'honest tradesman' but 'brought religion on the carpet, ridiculed the scriptures and from appearance is a real deist', a view confirmed by a conversation with him on 2 July 1761.

²⁷³ The Griffins were the leading Methodist family in Chew Stoke, and presumably kept the inn there. They may be related to John Griffin* and they might be Dyer's New Year's Eve guests (see 31/12).

²⁷⁴ This could either be Joseph or James Daltera, both merchants. Joseph (d.1774) was master of the Merchant Venturers in 1760 and sheriff in 1761, but went bankrupt in 1764, while James (d. 1801) was merchant at 4 Trinity Street in 1775 and treasurer of the Merchant Venturers in the 1770s and 1780s.

Tuesday, April 20, 1762

Rose p 5 sent Giles Gillard²⁷⁵ with our mare to Mr Griffins at Chew Stoke. Father breakfasted with us He intends going for Glos^r tomorrow. This morn^s went to sundry places on the dunn without success. Call'd on Mr Baugh – staid at off &c 'till 2 after din^r went to off: & at 4 St Nich^s & heard Mr Sheppard.

This evening the committee met consisting of Mr Ames, Miller, Wansey, Deane & Worgan.

Mr Rich^d Camplin²⁷⁶ came & represented to them the case of his powder w^{ch} we charg'd him housing. But they will not agree to abate ye charge of housing.

This day met Rev^d Mr Brown who was going to ye mayor as a candidate for ye living of Coombsbury²⁷⁷ (w^{ch} is a gift of the corporation) vacant by the death of Mr Taylor of Clifton.²⁷⁸

Wednesday, April 21, 1762

This morning called on Mr Symes. Afterw^{ds} at Mr Am.. & Mr Baughs & at sundry places on ye dunn but without success. Staid at off: &c 'till 2.

My mother and Mrs Pope²⁷⁹ dined with us

This morning father sat out for Glos^r May ye protect.. of God attend him!

After din^r called at Palmer – p 5 home – ret^d to off: at p 7 call'd at Mr Henry D[urbin] & spent the even^s there.

Mr Jn^o Dyer of the Custom Ho²⁸⁰ was there some part of the time.

Thursday, April 22, 1762

This morn^s visited Moth^r Davis & staid at off: &c 'till 2. after dinner visited Bro^r Jn^o – home at 5 – called on Rachell this aftern^o. St^d at off 'till p 7 then home.

There appears to be a faculty or power in ye human mind of retaining any impression made upon it thro the channel of the senses – If the eye sees an object suppose any human person features of that person are impressed in ye mind & notwithstanding it may soon after be forgotten, & therefore appear to be quite obliterated yet in reality it is not so, because at some distance of time afterwards & unexpectedly an idea of that person vizt of his features shall spring up in the mind as if the person was then present – this I have often experienced – & the same with regard to any discourse w^{ch} hath been receiv'd into ye mind by means of ye ear. It may lye dormant as it were in ye mind for many months or year, & on a sudden be fresh awakened & appear as strong in ye mind, as if it had but just then been heard. This is a mystery & a wonder.

²⁷⁵ Giles Gillard assisted Dyer in odd jobs.

²⁷⁶ Probably from the firm of Camplin and Smith, linendrapers and merchants, who went bankrupt in 1763/4; BRO 11109/15 is the 1759–61 account of this firm with William Miller*.

²⁷⁷ This is a variant spelling of Congresbury, a living owned by Bristol Corporation (see below 29/5).

²⁷⁸ Rev. Thomas Taylor (d. 1762) was rector of St Ewin's from 1730 and of Congresbury from 1733, and the 'minister or proprietor' of Clifton, where he was succeeded by his son John, whom Chatterton attacked for 'superstition' and a love of mammon.

²⁷⁹ See 3/3.

²⁸⁰ See 30/1 (not Dyer's brother John).

This day poor Mrs Dinham at Castle Gate departed this life.

Friday, [April 23], [1762]

Dream'd last night or this morn^g of being in comp^a with Mr Walker of Truro who has been sometime since deceased. But it did not appear so in my dream.

Called at Mr Allison's, Mr Brown's & on Mr Penny this morn^g. Afterwards went down to Mr Harford's²⁸¹ – then to off & st^d 'till near 2. & near 3 mounted Morrish's horse & road to Littleton consulted Mr Wallis about making a waggon ready for the intended journey to Liverp^o – all ye men were discharged except 3 last week – ret^d home p 6. afterw^{ds} went to Tabernacle & ret^d home near 9.

Saturday, April 24, 1762

This morn^g went to Mr Ames & from thence to Mr Giles at the Lamb & enquired whether he can furnish us with a waggon for Liverp^o.

There I saw his daughter Polley who is return'd home from Nurse Cookes at Kingswood.

Went to Cust^o House & enter'd Mr Ames's pow^r per ye Harford²⁸²

Staid at off: & on Change 'till 2. after dinner Mr Brown came & was electrised for head ache. After which Mess^{rs} Penny & Eaton came & we 4 went together & took walk & at Hengrove drank tea & ret^d to town ½ p 7. Having had some agreeable conversation or rather heard some agreeable conversation between Mr Penny & Mr Brown.

This even^g my poor mother came down to disburthen her mind having receiv'd some exceed^g abusive treatment from that wicked woman whom poor JD is united with for life & JD's wife is gone this even^g to sleep at her sisters.²⁸³

Sunday, April 25, 1762

Went to St Werburghs foren^o & aftern^o – Mr Sheppard preach'd at ye latter Mr Symes ye former part of ye day. This even^g went to Mr Symes & home p 8

Monday, April 26, 1762

This morn^g went up to Giles's called on Mr Penny then to off Afterwards Mr Giles & Bull came with Mr Townsend of Bath with whom I went to seek after Mr Ames.

& at Change time Mess^{rs} Ames, Baugh & Wansey agreed with Mr Townsend for his waggon to set out with ours next Monday for Liverpool. My poor mother din'd with us today being burdened with ye treatment she has lately reced.

This even^g I went up to Bro^r Jn^o & staid 2 or 3 hours (Mr Vin..²⁸⁴ was there part of the time) we talked over the whole affair but his wife does not intend to lodge any more under that roof & by his acco^t seems irreconcilable with poor mother.

Oh may we pity one anothers infirmities.

²⁸¹ See 9/2.

²⁸² Ship not identified, but presumably associated with the Harford family – see 9/2.

²⁸³ Probably the wife of William Evans the carpenter (see 8/2).

²⁸⁴ Not identified.

Tuesday, April 27, 1762

Went this morn^g to Brewhouse call'd on Mr Penny – then to off: & st^d there 'till 2. After din^r went to St Nich^s afterw^{ds} at mothers – & near 7 called on Rachell from thence went to Mr Eatons & was inform'd that last night Polley Giles was again persecuted by bites cuts pricking &c afterw^{ds} went into the Lamb²⁸⁵ and was there in comp^a with Messrs Brown, Sheppard, Durbin & Eaton & staid 'till ½ p10. Sat sometime in ye room after Polley was bed. When everything was quiet but as soon as we went out she was pulled down the bed by her heels & 2 chamber pots were broke by the same invisible agent.

Wednesday, April 28, 1762

This morn^g visited Mother Davis also Bro^r Jn^o who seems very ill again & without doubt under some perplexity about ye perverse temper of his wife.

This morn^g sent Rob^t to magazine by water & staid at off myself 'till 2. Young Mr Haynes call'd on me & promised to call'd again in afternoon but he came not 'till after the time appointed & then I was gone out.

Drank tea at Sis^r Hop^s afterw^{ds} call'd on Mr Penny & reced from him a paragraph to be published by Mr Giles²⁸⁶ w^{ch} employ'd me 2 hours transcribing at off: this even^g – home p 9. This morn^g call'd on Zeph Fry & settled with him for Benjⁿ Hoskins's note.²⁸⁷

This day I hear Polley Giles was taken to a farmers near Hembury.²⁸⁸

Thursday, April 29, [1762]

This morn^g Mr Penny came down to me & made some little alteration to ye above paragraph. & I was chief part of ye foren^o employed in transcribing it again.

After din^r took walk – called on Bro^r Jn^o & at 5 home where I drank tea with Mr & Mrs Green.

p 7 went to off & home p 8

May I be thankful for ye Lords mercies & live in constant dependence & resignation to Him. Oh may Jesus have mercy on me, as I stand in need.

Friday, April 30, 1762

Near 9 up in town. Call'd on Mr Oliver.²⁸⁹ Afterw^{ds} on Mr Brown then to off: & st^d there &c 'till 2. Call'd on Mr Giles this morn^g who (I find) went to his landlord yesterday but was refused what he wanted. Doppey Giles has been persecuted ever

²⁸⁵ Durbin (pp. 42–4) has fuller details of the cuts and the chamber pots moving.

²⁸⁶ See 29/4 and 5/5.

²⁸⁷ See 28/1 and 6/4.

²⁸⁸ Durbin (p. 44) says 'a friend's at Kingsweston'.

²⁸⁹ Not identified. Dyer later keeps his mare in a field belonging to Mrs Oliver somewhere in Bristol (see 16/7 onwards until 29/10).

since her sister Polley has been removed & last night Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton were ans^d several questions by scratching.²⁹⁰

This aftern^o visited Mr Symes & staid there 'till p 6. afterw^{ds} went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield.

Saturday, May 1, 1762

This morning Mr Brown came to be electrified & breakfasted with us & we went in town together we had a little altercation together concern^g ye mystick writers²⁹¹ but did not agree w^{ch} occasion'd my writing some of my thoughts today.

Calld at Broadways & bespoke a tin plate with our companys name on it²⁹² to be fixed to our waggon. Afterwards took walk to Bedmins^r to view some grass there. Ret^d to off: near 12 & staid &c 'till 2.

After dinner went to off & prepared despatches for our wagⁿ who is to set out with another for Liverpool, next Monday. At 5 home ret^d to off: p 8 visited Bro^r Jn^o & home p 9.

Sunday, May 2, 1762

This morn^g went to Mr Baugh & Mr Deane Mr Ames being out of Town & consulted them about send^g 10lbs pow^r in each waggon tomor^o more than what was designed (because the act of Parliament exempts ye magazines near Liverp^o from ye penalties)²⁹³ to which they agreed & Mr Wansey yesterday consented thereto.

Went this morn^g to St Nich^s & a sacra^l & the Lord blessed my soul.

Aftern^o went to St Werb^{ghs} afterw^{ds} visited poor Rachell & then home. Oh Lord Jesus shew mercy unto me that mercy w^{ch} I need.

Monday, May 3, 1762

Rose p 5 soon after w^{ch} John Hill²⁹⁴ came (who is going with Jn^o Jones²⁹⁵ with our wagⁿ to Liverp^o) to whom I gave ye needful instructions & p 7 sat out on to Robt Davis's

²⁹⁰ See Durbin (pp. 44–5) for details of Doppey's sufferings by pins, and for questions in Greek and Latin. Durbin adds 'It said, it wanted to discover some secrets to Mr Giles, but it did not. It said it would speak to Mr Giles on Wednesday, May 5, at five o'clock. He waited in his counter, but it did not come. It would answer any one that whistled a tune, by whistling the same. I have heard it scratch various tunes very correctly. Also when the children's hands have been out of bed, I have heard it slap hands in bed as loud as a man, several times. Sometimes I have heard it pant like a bull-dog under the bed, yet I could never see anything there. Sometimes the room was filled with an insufferable smell, like putrified blood, &c. from a shambles. I have smelt it several times.'

²⁹¹ Writers in the Behmenist (see 10/12) tradition (including the later writings of William Law*) and French mystics such as Guion, Marsay, Poirot and Bourignon. Evangelical clergy, like John Wesley, had a mixed response to these writings, valuing their spiritual insights but distrusting their quietist emphasis on personal introspection rather than public action: see introduction.

²⁹² John Broadway tinplate worker was at 3 Thomas Street in 1775 (and was listed there in 1768 as 'Broadway's tinmen').

²⁹³ See 6/3.

²⁹⁴ A workman at Littleton, who died in 1785.

²⁹⁵ The 'old waggoner' at Littleton gunpowder works, who died in 1771.

horse²⁹⁶ myself for Fulligrove magazine & gave directions about load^s ye 2 waggons for Liverp^o. Our waggon was there but Mr Townsends²⁹⁷ was not arrived. But I met him on my return home.

p 12 went to off: & st^d 'till 2. After din^r called at Brewho afterw^{ds} at Mr Pennys where I was in comp^a with Mr Neighbourgh²⁹⁸ then to off:. Drank tea with AD at mothers – ret^d to off & at 7 went to ye Lamb & afterwards took walk wth Mr Eaton – call'd on Mr Penny & home p 9. My sp^{ts} are tried with much activity today.

Tuesday, May 4, 1762

If there is any truth in dreams²⁹⁹ probably I have this day experienced ye completion of a couple ... them I had sometime since. one was that I thought a man rushed violently upon me. But that I violently set upon him & overcame him – the other – that the papers in my desk were on fire & that I sent Rob' down stairs to fetch some water, but that I took up a p.. of water w^{ch} stood near me & extinguish'd it myself – I tho' Mr A^s was present together with another gentlem..

Today I sent RD with ye ship Hungerfords³⁰⁰ note to Mr Powells³⁰¹ who greatly abused me concern^g ye charge of the powder. & on Change he attack'd me but he was silenced by my reply.

In the even^g I acquainted Mr A^s of the affair & the fire soon kindled & broke forth but he was soon cooled by what I said. Probably the above may be a completion of my dreams. [This last sentence may be a later addition.]

This morn^g went to sundry places on the dunn & staid at off 'till 2. After din^r p 4 went to off & st^d 'till 7.

The committee met this even^g consisting of Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Wansey, Miller & Deane.

Afterwards I went to Tabernacle & home p 9.

Wednesday, May 5, 1762

This morn^g went to Mr Penny & reced from him Giles's address to the publick³⁰² w^{ch} he has now quite finished & w^{ch} employed me all ye morn^g at off: transcribing – after dinner went to Mr Giles & left ye same with him – w^{ch} he designs publishing next Saturday.

²⁹⁶ It is not clear who this Robert Davis is. It is not William's father- or brother-in-law (both called Robert Davis), because on 25/6, when Dyer again uses this man's name, he refers to 'his poor wife' dying on 30 May, and in any case he would have called him 'Father' or 'Brother' Davis. See also 31/7.

²⁹⁷ See 26/4.

²⁹⁸ This may be the Swedish-born Moravian minister, Lawrence Nyberg (1728–92) who was in charge of the Bristol Moravian congregation from 1756 to 1763. A Joseph Nighbour, clock and watchmaker at 17 Broadmead in 1775, may be related, as a 'brother Nyberg' remained in the Bristol Moravians after Lawrence left. In 1783 a Sarah Nighbour was a Wesleyan with a school in Merchant Street.

²⁹⁹ See introduction.

³⁰⁰ A slaving ship of 120/180 tons and 16 guns owned by John Powell and co. It left Bristol 13 May for New Calabar then the West Indies, arriving in Guadeloupe January 1763 and leaving St Kitts in April, returning home in May 1763 ahead of its next voyage in July. See 7–8/7.

³⁰¹ See 22/3.

³⁰² See 8/5.

Afterwards at off: & in even^g at Helpful Society – May ye Lord shew mercy unto me

Thursday, May 6, 1762

Rose p 6 – at 9 up in town – at Halls – also at Cust^o House cleared powder for Padstow – Cash of Fisher Baker & co³⁰³ for a dra't ... them reced from Bro^r Ja^s.

At 11 went to St Werb^{ghs} & heard a sermon – afterwards spoke to our friend Mrs S. Staid at off & c 'till 2. I felt great weakness of nerves.

After din^r called on poor Bro^r Jn^o.

At 5 home where was father who ret^d yesterday from Glos^r & informs me of uncle James³⁰⁴ being in a low spirited way – I hope it will prove for his good.

This even^g went to Mr Symes & staid 'till near 10 – then home.

Friday, May 7, 1762

Call'd on Mr Penny this morn^g then to office & staid there 'till 2. After dinner call'd on Mr Penny went with him & Mr Eaton over the ..own & called at a farmer house belonging to Mr Jackson³⁰⁵ where I drank some tea w^{ch} Mr Eaton ..d bro^t with him. & gave ye woman of ye house a prescription both for herself & 2 children. She hav^g been afflicted with ye ague 6 months since & ye children with ye hooping cough. May ye remedy (if they use it) have a blessed effect.

I prescribed cob webb for ye mother & quick silver for ye children.³⁰⁶ We ret^d to town after a pleasant walk at near 8. then went to Tabernacle & heard part of an excellent discourse from Mr Whitfield.

Then home when I found Polley Giles had call'd to take leave of me, she being brought from the country today & is to sail for Swanzeay per Captain Button tomorrow morn^g – I afterwards went to ye Lamb³⁰⁷ & where with Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton I took my leave of Polley. Home p 10.

Saturday, May 8^h, [1762]

Rose this morn^g p 6. After trou..some nights rest – thought hav^g oppressed my mind – i.e. about Giles's address to ye public w^{ch} appear.. in both ye Bristol papers today³⁰⁸

Ab^t 9 up in town – call'd on Bro^r Jn^o then to off & st^d there & c 'till 2 – after din^r went to Brewho: – called on Mr Fisher – at 5 home – then to off & p 6 took walk in comp^a with Mr Penny & Mr Eaton & home p 8.

³⁰³ See Paul Fisher* and above 12/2.

³⁰⁴ See Thomas? Dyer*.

³⁰⁵ Not identified.

³⁰⁶ Cobweb appears in John Wesley's *Primitive Physic* as cobweb pills; quicksilver is liquid mercury.

³⁰⁷ Durbin (pp. 45–6) discusses incidents after Molly's return from Kingsweston 'where she was not at all tormented, though she stayed near six weeks'. 'Mr Giles was determined to send Molly to Swansea till the year should be nearly out, during which it said it would continue to torment her.' Durbin gives details of odd events regarding the money she packed to take with her to Swansea. He adds 'After Molly was gone to Wales, Dobby was neither bit nor cut; only some crooked pins were run into her skin; and some thrown into her bosom, and it continued scratching at nights.'

³⁰⁸ The address is printed in *FFBJ*; the *Bristol Journal* issue does not survive.

I find Mr Miller has given Bro^r Jn^o leave to live in his house (late Mr Knox's) at Clifton.³⁰⁹

Sunday, May 9, 1762

Rose 6 went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield & foren^o & aftern^o went to St Werb^{ghs} – in even^s with AD at Mr Symes's & staid 'till 10. then home.

Monday, [May] 10th, [1762]

Rose p 6. took walk. Call'd on Bro^r Jn^o also at Mr Allisons – at 9 home. Went to off: & staid there all the morn^s. After dinner went to Mr Pennys & with him went to Room at 4 & heard a funeral sermon preach'd for Molley Davis a washerwoman who departed in ye Lord – the corps were brought to ye Room – afterwards drank coffee at Mr Pennys & staid there 'till p 7 then home.

May ye Lord shew mercy to me.

Tuesday, May 11, 1762

Rose this morn^s ab^t [sic] went to Mr Symes's at 8 afterw^{ds} call'd on Bro^r Jn^o & p 9 went to Quakers meeting it being their yearly meeting – & ½ p 12 at off –

After dinner went again to the same meet^s in ye meantime our friend Mrs S: came to our home & was gone before I came home. In even^s visited Rachell at her own little house³¹⁰ where she went yesterday.

Wednesday, May 12, 1762

This morn^s near 10 went to town & staid at off & c 'till 2 – after dinner went to Bro^r Jn^o & walk'd with him to ye post chaise in Cherry Lane³¹¹ from whence him & his wife & 2 children sat out for Mr Millers house at Clifton where they are to continue until a tenant offers – poor Jn^o is so extremely weak that his walking down from father's was rather too much for him – May the Lord shew mercy unto him. –

This even^s took a short walk met Mr Barry³¹² – afterwards visited Rachell & home at 9.

Thursday, May 13, 1762

This morn^s about 9 went to Bro^r Jn^o at Clifton & ret^d to office p 10 & staid there 'till 2 then home and staid there all ye aftern^o. In ye even^s my friends Mr Symes & Mr & Miss Penny paid us a visit & staid 'till p 9. –

³⁰⁹ Presumably William Miller* had bought the house, a rather grand one, which is advertised for sale in *FFBJ* on 18 March, following an auction of all Thomas Knox's* household goods 'at his late house in Clifton near the Hotwells' advertised on 13 February. John Dyer* had worked for Miller 1755–9. See below 12/5.

³¹⁰ See 23/1.

³¹¹ Off North Street in St James, at the start of Stokes Croft.

³¹² See 23/1 and 1/12.

I find at present I have a violent cold which much affects my head. –

At this time a disorder is epidemical [sic] (most people have a touch of it) which has the appearance of a cold, attended with weakness & pain in all their limbs.³¹³

Friday, May 14, 1762

Rose p 6 & p 9 up in town & staid at off: all the morn^s 'till 2. Most of my time being employed in studying Van Helmont on ye great power of magnetism. wherein he speaks very sensibly & I apprehend agreeable to true philosophy.³¹⁴ –

This aftern^o called on Miss Fisher: then home & at 5 at off: & at 7 went to Tabernacle & heard a good discourse from I Chronicles 28:4 “He liked to make me king”

Saturday, May 15, 1762

This morn^s & several times today my nose has bled – probably it may prove serviceable to me. –

This morn^s visited poor Giles at ye Lamb who is very ill of the present epidemical disorder.³¹⁵ Lord prepares us all for the dispensation of his divine providence!

This foren^o Mr Wallis came to town & informs me his wife is very ill with a complaint in her bowells & vast numbers of people in the country are much afflicted with colds.

This even^s Mr Green our neighbour is suddenly taken ill with a shivering &c.

After dinner today call'd on Mr Symes & took walk with him to Bro^r Johns – ret^d and drank tea with Mr Symes & at 7 at off: afterwards met young Mr Haynes & talked with him sometime about ye Lawfords Gate affair. & he seems very angry – probably my dream of the crabs is yet to be fulfilled.³¹⁶

Oh my Lord prepare me for whatever calumny mankind may be suffered to cast upon me & help me to be honest & simple.

This even^s visited poor mother who has also a sore throat – Lord open all our eyes alarm us, & help us to call upon thee in this our time of need, when dangers surround & threaten us greatly.

Sunday, May 16, 1762

This morn^s I went to St Werb^{ghs}. Aftern^o at Quakers meeting. & from thence with Mr Eaton to Mr Giles's who is extremely ill in a fever attended with pleuritick pains³¹⁷

³¹³ A contemporary dictionary defines epidemical as ‘a general or spreading disorder by means of contagious or infectious corruption of the air, whereby people are universally affected without communicating with others’. Dyer discusses this further on 15/5 (‘the present epidemical disorder’) and 17/5 (‘this epidemical disorder’) and 22/5 (‘ye epidemical cold’) and in his epitomised diary from 1801 refers to it as ‘a kind of cold termed influenza’ and ‘the prevailing disorder (influenza)’. *FFBJ* 22 May notes ‘the present reigning distemper’, with ‘all ranks of people afflicted with it more or less’.

³¹⁴ See 16/2.

³¹⁵ Durbin (pp. 47–8) says he was first ill on the 13th, vomiting copiously, ‘I advised to send for a physician, which he did the next day’. Durbin presents his illness on 15th (‘he thought he should die’) and 16th (the doctor had but little hope, as his disorder seemed a little uncommon’) as much more serious than Dyer implies on 22/5.

³¹⁶ See above 14–15/4.

³¹⁷ Pleurisy is a disease of, or resulting in, pain in the chest or ribs and hence in breathing.

– afterw^{ds} went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfields farewell serm^o he being to leave Bristol tomorrow. Afterw^{ds} visited Mr Hopkins³¹⁸ who with his wife & child are all ill with colds.

Afterw^{ds} called on poor Rachell who is ill a bed & home near 8.

May the Lord prepare me for all events! & whatever weapon may be forming against me, Lord cause it not to prosper. The cause of this petition proceeds from a suspicion I have of Mr Giles's adversaries entering a persecution against those who are his friends.

Monday, May 17, 1762

Rose this morn^g about 7 & was greatly shocked when I went in town, on being informed that poor Mr Giles expired last night about 9 o'clock.³¹⁹ when I was there at 5 o'clock the same evening I advis'd 'em to Dr James's powders³²⁰ w^{ch} they procured but declined adminis^g 'em until Dr Drummond came, when he approv'd of it & half a paper was given but it prov'd ineffectual, as he expired soon after. & left a very disconsolate wife with 8 children behind him. He was sensible to ye very last. He sent for a lawyer to make his will & had given instructions but before the attorney cou'd finish writing the same poor Giles was no more as to this world. May the Lord prepare me for so awful a change.

Went to Mr Eatons this morn^g & reced ye above particulars from Mrs Eaton who was with him at ye time he dyed. Visited my poor mother several times today who is extremely ill with this epidemicall disorder. This aftern^o visited Bro^r Jn^o afterw^{ds} at Mr Allison's & both him & his wife are ill.

Staid at mothers 'till 9 – call'd at Mr Durbins & home.

Tuesday, May 18, 1762

This morn^g call'd on Mr Durbin & reced some acco^t concern^g poor Giles & from what he said & some corroborating circumstances it seems probable that that infernall diabolical tormentor w^{ch} persecuted his poor children may have had some hand in his death. 'tho to outward appearance his decease seems natural. Yet those sp^{tu}al wickedness's are capable (very probably at somtimes) of executing their horrid deeds in such manner as to deprive a man of life 'tho as not to be perceptible by any one present nor even by ye person so assaulted. May Jesus be my preserver & protector from all ye mischievous designs of this accursed spirit.

What seems probable that ye infernal charm had power to operate on poor Giles is, from Barnes at ye bottom of Glos^r Lane who has been at times along while afflicted in a strange manner acquainting Mr Durbin last Thursday even^g (w^{ch} was the day Mr Giles was taken ill) that the proceeding night he had been perplexed with voices in his room in ye manner heretofore (tho he had been quiet for sometime since 'till

³¹⁸ See William Hopkins*.

³¹⁹ Durbin confirms (p. 48) that it occurred at 9 p.m., and adds 'whether any witchcraft hastened his death, God knows'.

³²⁰ See 21/5. The London physician Dr Robert James (1703–1776) patented his fever powder which was marketed extensively by John Newbery from 1746 onwards; it contained several sweating agents. See his *ODNB* entry.

this) & he heard some of them say that they had not much power now over the children at the Lamb but they said something about their having power over the old one but he could not clearly understand whither they said they had power or shou'd have power or whither they shou'd try to have power over the old one – nor did he apprehend what they meant by the old one – but 'tis highly probable that poor Mr Giles was the person meant, & 'tis remarkable that several times it had been intimated to one or both the children afflicted by ye witch that she had something to say to their father. But however that something was never communicated to him therefore probably his death might be ye thing meant. another odd circumstance was last Sunday evening in the dusk (ye very even^s Mr Giles dyed) an old woman with a straw hat look'd in at the kitchen door & ask'd a servant maid if her master was not dead yet I ... not whether ye maid made any reply but however she ran immediately to fetch Doppey to see if that was the old woman (the witch) who had frequently appeared to her but before they came she was gone down the yard. This acco^t Mr Eaton gave me today.³²¹

Ab^t 9 called at Mr Symes's from thence went to ye Mayor in Clifton³²² & ask'd him to lend Bro^r Jn^o a horse now & then for an airing w^{ch} he assured me he wou'd have readily granted but he has not a saddle horse of his own.

Afterwards visited Bro^r Jn^o & on my return call'd again on Mr Symes who was so kind to offer Bro^r Jn^o his horse, but I doubt that won't do, he being too maundy.³²³

At 11 call'd at Cust^o House afterw^{ds} visited poor mother – staid at off & c 'till 2 – after din^r called on Ramzor & also Miss Fisher: Mrs Allison & poor mother – near 6 at off & st^d 'till 8 then home. The committee met this even^s consist^s of Mr Elton, Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, Mr Wansey & Mr Deane came & went away before them.

This aftern^o AD visited Miss Penny.

Wednesday, May 19, 1762

Rose this morn^s p 6 & went to Clifton at 8 & told poor Jn^o to hire a horse when he wanted & I would pay for it. But I know not whither he will comply. Visited also poor mother & near 10 at off & staid there & c 'till 2 – At 4 went to off: afterw^{ds} drank tea with Sis^r Hop^s visited poor Rachell & from thence to mothers. & p 7 at off & st^d 'till

³²¹ Durbin (p. 47) reports his conversation with Barnes (see 29/3), whom he identifies as 'Mr –'s, a smith, in Gloucestershire' (an editorial misreading for Gloucester Lane?) on 13 May. 'He had been troubled for two months past, with two different voices in the *Kingswood* language, threatening to do him a mischief. His neighbours thought him disordered in mind, but he always talked very sensibly to me, and related a variety of odd circumstances. The voices foretold him many things concerning himself. He told me, that last night he was troubled again with the voices, and that amongst other things he was told, that they should have but little power at the Lamb (meaning Giles's) over the little ones, but they should get power over the old one there, the father. They seemed to dispute together about it, and at last seemed pleased that they should have power over Giles himself; and said something else about him, but he could not understand them. He told me he was troubled for him, though he had no acquaintance with the family. I did not tell him Mr Giles was ill, lest he should tell some of Mr Giles's family of it.' He later adds (p. 48) 'What the voices said to the smith before he was taken so ill, is very remarkable. I never told Giles's family of it till some months after his death.' See 26/5 below. Durbin does not report Dyer's story of the old woman with a straw hat.

³²² Isaac Elton*, who had a house in Clifton, was then mayor.

³²³ No meaning of this kind is given in *OED*. Perhaps Dyer meant 'maungy' i.e. mangy or scabby?

½ p 8 then home – poor AD has been this even^g to visit poor Jn^o & was roundly abused by his unhappy wife.

This even^g I find the remains of Mr Giles were inter'd at St Ph..³²⁴ & the funeral was very private only about 6 or 8 p[er]sons in 2 coaches attended ye corpses.

Thursday, May 20, 1762

This morn^g rose ab^t 4 o'clock hav^g had a very restless night occasion'd by flatulency, together with thoughts of what had pass'd between AD & Bro^r Jno^s wife yesterday afternoon. Call'd this morn^g before 6 on Mr Eaton & took walk & home p 8. Went to off at 9 & st^d 'till 2. Visited poor father 2 or 3 times today & gave him Dr James's powders this afterⁿ he being seiz'd with violent shooting pains all over his body last night, attended with a fever.

AD went to Mr Symes's this afterⁿ & in ye even^g Mr Eaton came to our house & was electrised. Afterw^{ds} I went to AD at Mr Symes's & staid there 'till near 11 where poor AD was very ill & which increased after we came home.

Friday, May 21, 1762

This morn^g visited father & found that the single dose of Dr James's powders (w^{ch} operate by perspiration of about 4 hours continuance) has given him relief. He is now quite free from pain. But poor mother is very ill, whom I perswaded to take half a paper of ye same powder which she complied with & it operated in the same manner (sweating) but she continues very weak with a violent head ach. Went to Cust^o House this morn^g & ent^d pow^r for New York. Staid at off: 'till 2 .-After dinner call'd on Miss Fisher & reced 21: 5/ ye remainder of her note hand – p 5 went to off: visited poor mother at 6 went to Room & heard a funeral sermon for 2 aged persons: the corps of whom were both in ye Room. p 7 up in town & went home with Mr Eaton & electrised his eyes –

Saturday, May 22, [1762]

This morn^g made a decoction of bark³²⁵ for poor mother & carr^d up to her vizt 1oz bark with ¼ oz sal nitre³²⁶ boyled in 3 pints water until reduced to half the quantity. Visited Sis^r Hop^s & p 10 at off: At noon both ye waggons arrived from Liverp^o. Mr Wallis came up to off: also Mr A^s & Mr Townsend – & it seems to be the resolution of Mess^{rs} Ames, Baugh, Miller & Wansey that ye waggons shall go with another load next Monday se'enight.

After dinner visited Father Davis who was a few days since seized with ye epidemical cold – call'd also on poor Mrs Giles who this day se'enight had a husband living & walking about ye House (for he was only confin'd entirely to his bed on

³²⁴ The epitomised diary confirms that this was 'St Phillips' i.e. St Philip and Jacob.

³²⁵ Decoction involves boiling over the fire to prepare diet drinks while bark probably means Jesuits or Peruvian bark i.e. quinine (the bark of the cinchona tree). There are many advertisements in the Bristol papers in 1762 for similar products, e.g. Walkers Patent Genuine Jesuits Drops in 5s or 2s 6d bottles (*Bristol Journal*, 3 April 1762). See 10/9.

³²⁶ Potassium nitrate (an ingredient of gunpowder) used as a cooling sedative, especially for bronchial cases.

Sunday the day he died) but now he is both dead & buried. May this afflicting providence have a due effect on ye whole family!

At 5 home afterw^{ds} visited Mrs Allison. my mother. Then to off: wrote lre to Bro^r James & left with H Sweeting to enclose under his frank.³²⁷ & ½ p 7 went home and electrised Mr Eaton.

This day Mr Marston was suddenly seized when up in town & seemed to be deprived of all strength whereby 'twas with great difficulty he reach'd home.

Sunday, May 23, 1762

This day I have enjoyed very little retirement. In the morn^g about 7 went to Clifton & visited Bro^r Jn^o & then to mothers & at 9 home. Went to St Werb^{ghs} & after church met our d^r friend Mrs S w^{ch} excited a disposition in me to write a few lines w^{ch} I enclosed in Worldly Compliances³²⁸ & deliver'd ye same to her serv^t at Rachells in ye even^g – May ye Lord grant that no evil may come thereof w^{ch} I trust was done in simplicity – oh Lord prepare me for all events endue me with Christian courage & fortitude.

Aftern^o went to St Werb^{ghs} & afterw^{ds} visited Rachell where was also Kitty. Mrs Green & Mr Davis came also – Mr Davis & I staid 'till p 7 then home.

Monday, May 24, 1762

Called this morn^g at B.. took walk & afterw^{ds} at mothers – then to off: & staid all the morn^g. After din^r visited Father & Mother Davis who are both indisposed – at 5 home where was our d^r friend Rachell who just before came there with Mrs Bull³²⁹ & her sis^r Peggy³³⁰ – went to off: & home with Mr Eaton near 8 & electrised him.

I may truly say with regard to myself that “within are fears” But Lord grant I may be enabled to trust in himself & there tis impossible any harm can happen to me

Oh Lord Jesus grant that not any weapon formed against me may be suffered to prosper.³³¹

Tuesday, May 25, 1762

Rose at 6 & at 7 went to Clifton & found poor Bro^r Jn^o extremely weak. Afterw^{ds} call'd at Mr Symes's & heard of a melancholy accident which happened to one Mr Pomfry a young clergyman on Sunday last who was riding through Bedmins^r & met by a man riding full speed & threw him off his horse & fractured his skull. & he dyed the same day.³³² –

Afterw^{ds} visited Father Davis then to off: & st^d 'till 2. After din^r call'd on Mr Adlam – went to St Nich^s. Drank tea with mother st^d at off 'till p 7 & then went home with Mr Eaton.

³²⁷ The signature of a person entitled to send letters post free and hence an envelope with such a signature. It is unclear why Sweeting* (a grocer) had such a privilege.

³²⁸ *Worldly Compliances* by Jeremy Leaf, dedicated to Lady Frances Shirley, was first published in 1752, with a second edition the next year. For the response see 20/6.

³²⁹ Probably not the wife of James Bull* but of Thomas Bull (d. 1791) with whose family Dyer's friend Rachel Tucker* lived in Dalton's Court from December 1768 onwards.

³³⁰ See Rachel Tucker* for her sisters Peggy and Sukey/Susannah.

³³¹ 'No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper' (Isaiah 54: 17).

³³² The story appeared in *FFBJ* 29 May.

Wednesday, May 26, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & at 9 up in town called on Mr Adlam & saw a new electrical machine w^{ch} he has had made for a gentlemⁿ at Warmins^r Afterw^{ds} visited Fa^r & Mo^r Davis staid at off: &c ‘till 2. After din^r ret^d to off: drank tea at home & at 6 call’d on Mr Penny & with him on Mr Eaton & we all took walk together. Afterw^{ds} I called on Barnes who told me he was greatly tormented last night – & ‘twas intimated to him that they wou’d have his life. & also that they should endeavour to afflict Mrs Giles – may ye Lord have mercy on these poor afflicted people – it seems those infernal wretches who talk to Barnes in ye Kingswood language (tho’ he can only hear their voice but cannot see any thing visible) & probably is the spirits of sundry witches told him last night “that he had finish’d Mr Giles & they wou’d finish him & that they shou’d now endeavour to have power over Mrs Giles.”³³³

Thursday, May 27, 1762

Rose ab^t 6. Electrised Cha.. Slade³³⁴ for rheumatism in his a.. afterw^{ds} went to Clifton but poor bro^r Jn^o was not come down & return’d again without seeing ... call’d at Mr Symes’s afterwards visited poor Barnes also mother Davis & poor Mrs Giles who see.. to be under much distress concer.. her worldly affairs. May she be enabled to flee to the Lord & there find comfort, where alone it is to be found. At 11 went to off & st^d ‘till 2. Mr A^s complains of Ramzor his not being at magazine & employ^g yesterday a boy to shift powder who had nails in his shoes.³³⁵ –

At present it appears the world has set itself against me the behaviour of the men of the world evinces it Lord Jesus help me to follow thee! Harden my brow ..s a flint that I may not be afraid of the world.³³⁶ This aftern^o called on Shurmer Bath³³⁷ & saw some electrical experiments. Drank tea at home. – In the even^g visited Bro^r Jn^o & went a little way with him & his wife when she begun upon her delightful topick of railing against poor mother &c &c but I civilly took my leave & ret^d home – call’d on mother and beg’d that we may all of us determine to say nothing of this poor unhappy woman in any of our conversations – so that we may never be the means of stirring up the flame.

Friday, May 28, 1762

Last night dreamt that my wife & I were in a boat together somewhere in ye Bristol river & that I scull’d the same but met with numbers of difficultys sometimes being in very shallow water and then get out from thence into deeper then again quite aground & on dry land & obliged to get ye boat over a short length of dry sand, then again into shallow water, then deep & at length I thought we came into very deep

³³³ See 29/3 and footnote to 18/5.

³³⁴ Not identified.

³³⁵ Nails might create sparks setting off the gunpowder.

³³⁶ ‘As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not’ (Ezekiel 3: 9).

³³⁷ Shurmer Bath (d. 1800) was a Quaker maltster, living in 1775 at 93 Stokes Croft. He was a friend of both Symes* and the Quaker Sarah Fox, to whom he lent Law’s* attack on the stage; he subscribed to Lovett’s* *Philosophical Essays* (1766) on electricity.

water – this appears to me a real emblem of life but probably it may be design'd as a kind notice of some approach^s difficulty.³³⁸ But whatever may be its meaning may the Lord enable me to blindly to resign myself to him & may He enable me to go thro' good report and evil report & truly to follow my d^r Lord Jesus. –

This morn^s went to Brewho: breakfas^d with mother – afterw^{ds} saw Mr Hart – p 9 call'd at Borbonous Mr Rocks³³⁹ Mr Deanes Mr Wanseys. Birches³⁴⁰ Mr Nobles³⁴¹ – st^d on Change 'till 2 then home & staid 'till 6 then to off & at 8 ret^d home again

Saturday, May 29, 1762

p 7 went to Brewho: breakfas^d with mother afterw^{ds} called at Palmers where Mr Badderley came & desired me to go with him to Mr Normans³⁴² (who has ye liv^s of Congresbury given to him) which I complied with. Mr B: told Mr N: that he took unkind what he has lately reported at Mr Jo: Smiths³⁴³ concern Mr B: & Mr N: reply'd that it was no more than what he was inform'd by the people of Coombsbury vizt. That Mr B: shou'd say to his congregation whilst he was reading prayers & even when saying the Lords Prayer that if they did not repeat the prayers in the same manner which he did, that they would be damned – with some other disrespectful things tending to injure Mr B's character Mr N: acknowledged he had spoken it & also that the clerk of some other church w^{ch} Mr B: served told him that there did not above 2 or 3 people besides himself come to church – all w^{ch} are absolute untruths – However Mr B: and Mr N: spoke in friendship. – Mr B: told Mr N: that if 'twas not inconvenient he shou'd acquit the church after tomorrow, & Mr B: to take to it Trinity Sunday or the Sunday after tomorrow, which Mr N: agreed to. & Monday or Tuesd^y next Mr Badderly intends setting out to visit his father who lives about 120 miles from hence. Afterw^{ds} met Mr Sweeting who told me that Mr Sprake³⁴⁴ told Sis^r Dy^r to her face that he counted 50 guin^s & 7 Jno^s³⁴⁵ besides other money w^{ch} was in the box w^{ch} money she took away & £18 was left in the hands of his wife and Mrs Sprake so that 'tis probable there was £90 in the whole.

This morn^s Capt Cheyne call'd on me.

Our wagon & Mr Townsends was to have set out Mond^y for Liverp^o but are now prevented by a letter rec^d from Mr Strachey today. Staid at off: 'till 2. At 6 call'd on Mr Wansey: from thence went to the mayors and spoke to Mr Baugh & he came to off: and wrote Ire.

p 7 home. This evening it seems Uncle James left Glos^r.³⁴⁶

³³⁸ See introduction.

³³⁹ See 29/3.

³⁴⁰ See 10/4.

³⁴¹ See 13/2.

³⁴² George Norman was a graduate of Magdalen Hall Oxford, ordained in 1754–5 and rector of Itton 1761–2 before becoming vicar of Congresbury from June 1762 until his death in August 1798. For 'Coomsbury' see 20/4.

³⁴³ Possibly the Joseph Smith watchmaker in Broad Street who took subscriptions for the Unity Street fire in November (see 19–20/11).

³⁴⁴ Dyer noted the death of 'poor Charles Sprake' in 1764. See 6/3 for his wife and John Dyer's* wife.

³⁴⁵ I cannot identify such coins.

³⁴⁶ See 7/6 and 1/7.

Sunday, May 30, 1762 Whit Sunday.

Rose ab^t 6 took walk & call'd at Bro^r Jno^s near 8 but no one was up. Afterw^{ds} at Father Davis's & Mr Eaton's & home at 9. Went to St Werb^{ghs} & sacra^t there – also aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} & in even^g went up to Mr Symes's and took my leave of him who sett's out tomor^o with Mrs Symes and their son for Chewton³⁴⁷ where they intend stay^g 3 wks.

Monday, May 31, 1762

Rose at ½ p 4 & near 6 sat out on Ramzors mare in comp^a with Cha^s Brown³⁴⁸ & arrived at Mr Brown's at West Hartree³⁴⁹ about 8 & spent the day there very agreeably. Sat out from thence about 6 in ye even^g. Called on Mr Wallis at Littleton on our way home & reached home p 8. This night poor Mr Knox dyed, after a few weeks illness.

Tuesday, June 1, 1762

Rose ab^t 5 took walk met with Mr Eaton & call'd with him on Mrs Giles & afterwards call'd on Mr Durbin who purposed going to ye Lamb this even^g together with Mr Eaton & I intended going also but was prevent'd, in order to talk with Mr Bull about Mrs Giles's affairs. –

Staid at off & c 'till 2.

After din^r went to off. In even^g ye Committee did not meet altho' 'twas ye ev^g in course. At ½ p 6 went up to M^r Clifton³⁵⁰ where I found poor J.D. somewhat better in appearance then he has been lately.

I am at present under some streights on acco^t of ye malitia being to be ballotted soon for this city.³⁵¹ –But may I be guided therein by the Lord.

Wednesday, June 2, [1762]

Took walk this morn^g p 5 & ret^d home p 8. At 9 up in town & staid 'till 2. After din^r ret^d to off Call'd at Mr Morrish's about ye malitia affair. At 5 home where was

³⁴⁷ Chewton Mendip. See 18/2 and 20/6.

³⁴⁸ Charles Brown* was the brother of 'Mr Brown' i.e. Rev. James Brown*.

³⁴⁹ West Harptree (James Brown's* parish).

³⁵⁰ Presumably a slip of the pen for Clifton.

³⁵¹ Under the militia laws, all eligible men were balloted for 3 years' service in the militia, but those selected could pay for substitutes to replace them. As early as January 1762, a Bristol insurance office (calling itself 'the militia insurance office') was offering tickets for substitutes at 7s 6d, and 10s 6d sub for militia substitute (*FFBJ* 9 and 23 January). The same paper reported an alteration in the law regarding substitutes on 17 April, and on 29 May that the militia would be raised 'with all speed' and constables were taking down a fresh list of all persons liable for service in their wards, with more information on these lists on 12 June. On 17 July they advertised for substitutes wanted for the men selected. Dyer, who paid 10s 6d for his insurance was therefore quite slow to respond, but so was the Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner, as it was only on 25 June that he noted that he was setting up a parish club to raise a fund to pay the £10 for a substitute. *FFBJ* 28 July 1764 noted that when militia balloting started most people in the city, including the poorest, joined societies for procuring substitutes and 8 December 1764 recorded a meeting of the militia club at Griffin Inn, St Michael's Hill for dinner at 2 on Thursday 23 December to receive 'their dividend'. See 2/6, 7/6 and 20/6. In 1768 Dyer was chosen by ballot for the Somerset militia while living at Littleton, but he paid £1 5s to a substitute.

Mr Norton³⁵² one Mr Tho^s Whielden of Iminster & Mrs Hopkins who with Mr Hopkins³⁵³ spent the evening. –

At p 7 went to Helpful Society & home at 9.

Thursday, June 3, 1762

Awoke this morn^g about 3 o'clock out of a very disagreeable dream from which I had apprehensions of poor Rach^l being departed this life. I arose before 4 & was very agreeably convinced that my apprehensions were without foundation. Soon after I sat out with intent to walk to magazine but met Mr George on ye road which preven.. it. – Call'd at Bro^r Jno^s on my return & ab^t 8 home. p 9 up in town. Call'd this foren^o at Fath^r Davis^s & also on Mrs Giles – St^d on Change 'till 2 then home & st^d 'till 5 then at off & home at 8. Fath^r & Mo^r Davis has been at our ho: this aftern^o.

Friday, June 4, 1762

Rose this morn^g ½ p 4 & at 5 sat out on Mr Ramzors mare & reach'd West Harptree at ½ p 6. & about 9 sat out from thence with Mr Brown & rode thro' Chewton, Old Down & sundry other places ye last whereof was Stratton on the Foss & at last arrived at Farmer Peter Worms at I think 'tis call'd Pitcam³⁵⁴ where we found poor Mrs Worm in extreme pain, having last Sunday morning accidentally fallen down & pitch'd on her hip of the same side. – We dined there and from thence went to Coleford 2 miles beyond to ye Methodist preach^g house in order to view an electrical machine there³⁵⁵ – then return'd back to Harptree over Old Down & sundry other places as above (tho' my nearest to Bristol was directly from Coleford) rested an hour at Harptree where was Mr Grigg and his wife³⁵⁶ & then sat out alone & arriv'd at Mr Ramzors p 8 then home. in our way to farmer Worms we call'd on one Flower a butcher at Chilcompton, a noted poet.³⁵⁷

³⁵² Probably James Norton a Wesleyan, who (Dyer reports in 1760) was in charge of Wesley's book room at the New Room in Horse Fair: Dyer had lent him William Law's* letters but he returned them with 'very unworthy remarks thereon'. In 1761 Dyer notes that Norton is leaving 'Mr Hopkins' (probably William* rather than Samuel*) to board with Mr Stringer in the country. By 1768, at the latest, Norton was apprenticed to Gottlob Schusler (who had a bookshop in Corn Street near the Tolzey from 1754 onwards) and in 1771 he opened his own shop in Wine Street, being listed in 1775 as 'working stationer, print and bookseller' at 52 Wine Street.

³⁵³ See William Hopkins*.

³⁵⁴ Probably an error for Pitcot(e), a hamlet of 11 houses at the south end of Stratton Fosse parish.

³⁵⁵ Interesting confirmation of the association of electrical treatment with Methodism. John Wesley pioneered the use of such treatment in his *The Desideratum: or Electricity made Plain and Useful* (1760), which Dyer 'perused' on 25 February 1760. Wesley preached at Coleford on 26 October 1762.

³⁵⁶ Not identified.

³⁵⁷ Joseph Flower 'butcher of Chilcompton' published *The Prodigal Son, a Poem; or, a dialogue between an extravagant youth, his father, Fancy, (the youth's companion) and an elder brother. In imitation of the parable of the prodigal in the 15th Chap. of St. Luke* (printed at Bath, 1771, for T. Mills bookseller in Wine- Street Bristol). One of the poems by the evangelical Clifton gardener William Job in his *Poems on Various Subjects* (Bristol, 1785) is addressed to Flower.

Saturday, June 5, 1762

This morn^s went to Brewho & from thence at fathers & then to Bro^r Jn^o & near 10 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2. – After din^r call'd at Mrs Hitchens's³⁵⁸ afterw^{ds} at St Nich^s at 5 home p 6 took walk & met with Mr Eaton. Afterw^{ds} called at fathers & home p 8.

Sunday, June 6, 1762

Rose p 6. & p 9 call'd on Mr Brown at his lodgings in Lower College Green & near 10 went with him to College heard a good discourse there from Mr Chapman staid to sacra^t & aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} & heard Mr Camplin afterw^{ds} home & spent ye ev^g. Gave this even^g 7 drams crude mercury to Rachel who was very ill in her bowells, & it gave very quick relief.

Monday, [June] 7, [1762]

Rose p 5 went to Mallowgo-slum & plung'd myself in the water³⁵⁹ – At 9 up in town, & st^d at off &c 'till 2. Mrs Giles at ye Lamb call'd at our office this morn^s to ask ye gentlemens favours for carriage. –

This aftern^o drank tea with AD & Rachell at Mr Greens.

This aftern^o (I hear) dyed Mr Ja^s Hilhouse who was a few years since sheriff of this city & failed not long since.³⁶⁰ Went to off & st^d 'till p 8 this ev^g. May ye Lord open mine eyes to see ye great things which most nearly concern me.

This day on Change I saw Packer of Glos^r who surprized me with an account that Uncle James has left Glos^r about 8 days since (he sat out yesterd^y was se'ennight) & gave orders to an attorney to sell his stock of cattle &c to pay ye rent. But Aunt yet continues to keep shop.

This morn^s I subscribed 10/6 at Mr Wilmot's the church warden³⁶¹ towards a fund for providing substitutes in case any of ye subscribers are choosen to serve in ye malitia for this city.³⁶²

Tuesday, June 8, 1762

This morn^s sent Giles³⁶³ to Harptree for our mare & at noon sent Rob^t up with her to Clifton where I design she shall be kept for ye present for Bro^r Jn^o to ride out when

³⁵⁸ Possibly the wife of George Hitchens (aged 85 in 1791) who had been cooper at Dinham's* distillery in Castle Gate when Dyer worked there 1745–50.

³⁵⁹ The Malago brook or vale now runs in a culvert under the Bedminster area of Bristol, and presumably then formed a marshy area ('slump') which had been adapted for cold bathing. See also 16/6. In February 1756 Dyer noted that he had 'long accustomed' himself to cold bathing 'even in frost and snow' but 'after several years' reduced and then declined the practice. In May 1757 Dyer had subscribed for a year for his wife to bathe at Rennison's Baths at Trim Mills for 10s 6d (and he could bathe as well 'by finding my own towel') and in June 1758 he reports providing a ladder for 'the boyling well' (see 17/6) which 'stood many years under water after I had declined bathing'.

³⁶⁰ James Hilhouse was a sugarbaker and merchant, who was warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1752 and sheriff 1755–6; he had sugarhouses in Lewins Mead and a house in Clifton.

³⁶¹ Three Wilmots are listed south of the river in 1775, a housecarpenter, a mason and a cooper.

³⁶² See 1/6.

³⁶³ See 20/4.

able. At 9 at off: afterw^{ds} went to Cust^o Ho & Mr Deane swore to debenture.³⁶⁴ Staid at off: &c 'till 2. –

Near 4 at off: afterw^{ds} went to St Nich^s & heard Mr Chapman ye Prebend. ret^d to off: & at 7 went to Clifton Bro^r Jn^o & Mr Sweeting were gone to Clifton but return^d before I came away. This morn^e Mr Elton sent for me and gave me his Brewh^o book.

Last Monday morn^e Willoughby & Berry stop^d payment.³⁶⁵

Many very remarkable occurrences has happened in ye course of ye present year which is hardly half expired yet.

Wednesday, June 9, 1762

Rose ab^t 6. at 8 call^d at Ramzors – p 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Bonbonous & Alderman Laroches – staid at off & on Change 'till 2 – p 4 at off: at 5 home ye painter finished paint^s my bookcase³⁶⁶ this aftern^o. At 6 at off & st^d 'till p 8 then home.

Thursday, [June] 10, [1762]

Went to Brewho: this morn^e called at mothers – p 9 called at Morgans³⁶⁷ & Mother Davis's & I find her son Robert came to see his father & mother last Mond^y & sat out again yesterday morn^e & there appears in him great hopes of a backslider return^e unto Him from whom he hath deeply revolted. Went to Cust^o H^o p 10 & clear^d pow^r for Dublin. – Staid at off &c 'till 2. Mr A^s & Mr Whatley³⁶⁸ came up in off: & talk^d about some acco^t w^h Devonsheir & co³⁶⁹ & of an imposition in ye frei^t of some goods 14 or 15 yrs since. –

This aftern^o wrote Bro^r James – in ye ev^e at 6 visited Mr Penny & staid there 'till p 8 in comp^a with friend Hawksworth.

Friday, June 11, 1762

Rose ½ p 6 & sat out for Fulligrove magazine call^d at Clifton with design to ride on our mare, but as he was not in stable, walk^d it call^d at King's Head at Sea Mills & breakfasted there. & ret^d by way of Clifton & reach^d home about p 8 then to off & st^d 'till 2 at 3 ret^d there again & staid 'till 6 then call^d on Mr Penny & with him to Mr Eatons & we all took walk together & on our way met Mr Baugh & his 2 daughters coming from Frenchay. At near 9 ret^d home almost tired. spent an hour with Rach^l & we are both under apprehension our d^r friend Mrs S is under difficulties at this time.

³⁶⁴ A certificate given exporters regarding imported goods on which a drawback of customs dues was allowed if they were then exported again.

³⁶⁵ Christopher Willoughby (d. by 1773) was city chamberlain in 1762, in which year he was left the residual estate of Paul Fisher*: his papers are BRO 09463–76. Berry may be George Berry, ship's broker, at 12 in the Exchange, in 1775. The epitomised diary specifies that they were 'insurance brokers'.

³⁶⁶ When Dyer moved into the Great Garden house in 1758 he bought a desk and book case costing £7.

³⁶⁷ See 19/4.

³⁶⁸ This could be either Edward Whatley sugarbaker (sheriff in 1752–3, mayor in 1768–9, alderman at 16 St James Square in 1775) or Henry, wholesale grocer at 76 Castle Street in 1775, who were both trading at this time.

³⁶⁹ Christopher Devonshire (d. 1766) and Paul Reeve were Quaker merchants heavily involved in the sugar and slave trades.

May the Lord support her. May she look to him for that purpose – & if any difficulties & trials await we two likewise may the Lord prepare us for the same – May I have courage to acknowledge God – Oh may I be deliv^d from the slavish fear of man. Lord give me the Christian courage I want!

Saturday, June 12, 1762

Rose p 6 & at 8 up in town went to bank & reced cash & bills. & from thence went to Mr Baughs w^b £300 in cash. Likewise went to Mr Ames. & they propose send^s ye 2 wag^s for Liverp^o Mond^y if Mr Townsend can send his waggon.

Went to Mr Miller & Mr Elton who hath sign^d note of hand to bank for £2000 – Staid on Change & c^t ‘till 2. After din^r prepared pills of balm Gilead³⁷⁰ for Bro^r Jn^o & st^d at home ‘till 6. then to off: & at 7 carry^d the said pills up to Clifton & home near 9 – This day rec^d Ire from Bro^r Geo: with acco^t of Bro^r James being ill. May the Lord shew him mercy.

Sunday, June 13, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 & near 9 went to Mr Baugh who was at Bath yesterday & agreed with Mr Townsend to send his wagⁿ to magazine tomorr^o morn^g to load for Liverp^o. I therefore sent W^m Harris³⁷¹ with letters to Mr Wallis order^s our wagⁿ to come tomor^o morn^g. Jn^o Jones the wag^r also came to me at 12 o’clock.

Went to St Werbur^{ghs} both foren^o & aftern^o where Mr Roquet served – his text was Ezek 18:30 “Repent, & turn yourselves from all your transgressions & so iniquity shall not be your ruin” His discourse in the morn^g was very striking. In the aftern^o also ‘twas very good, tho somethings that were said were exceptionable to delicate hearers – but ‘tis good to make a stir sometimes. – May what he has deliv^d be useful to those who heard it.

This day poor Rach^l has kept her bed. – & also kept a fast by way of medicine – & Satan has been very busy. But the Lord hath been her defence.

Monday, June 14, 1762

Rose ab^t 5. Jn^o Jones our waggoner came to whom I gave ye necessary despatches for his journey to Liverp^o & at 6 I went to Clifton mounted Hobby there, & rode to magazine & staid sometime there – where both of our wagⁿ & Mr Townsends waggons came. – I came away when ours began to load – Left ye mare at Clifton & home at 12 – Went to off & staid ‘till 2. Ret^d again to off: p 4 wrote letter to Mess^{rs} Alloway & sent Giles Gillard with it to magazine to be car^d on to Capt Willye.³⁷² Miss Walker & Mrs Pope³⁷³ drank tea at our house. At 7 went to Room & at 8 home.

³⁷⁰ The balm of gilead plant is *dracocephalum contrieuse*, used as an antiseptic. Originally the Biblical term ‘balm’ meant a gum or resin of a plant but the word became confused with balsam. The Bristol papers for 1762 have many advertisements for ‘essence of balm of Gilead’ at 5s per large bottle and 3s per small (*Bristol Journal*, 3 April).

³⁷¹ Porter to the Littleton gunpowder company.

³⁷² Probably John Willye, captain of the Prince William.

³⁷³ See 29/1 and 3/3.

Tuesday, June 15, 1762

Rose ab¹ 6. At 7 went to Brewho: & near 9 call'd at Bro^r Hop^s & breakfas^d there – then to off: afterw^{ds} at ye mayors and Mr Deanes with notices of meeting this even^g. Staid at off: &c 'till 2 –afternoon went to St Nich^s & heard a long serm^o from Mr Brown from Jn^o 3 v. 6.³⁷⁴

Staid at off: 'till p 7 then call'd at Mr Allison's who shew'd letter from Cap^t Garrison.³⁷⁵ Took walk with Mr Allison his wife & Miss Walker to their field & home at 9. This ev^g I saw Mr Stepⁿ Stringer.³⁷⁶

The Committee met this ev^g consist^g of Mr Ames, Mr Miller, Mr Deane & Mr Wansey.

Wednesday, June 16, 1762

Rose before 6. Went to Mallago slump & emerged my self into ye water³⁷⁷ – At 9 went to off: & to bank afterw^{ds} at Clifton & found poor Bro^r Jn^o greatly fatigued with his cough. – Oh Lord sanctify it unto him. Lord pity & relieve him.

Ret^d p 10 & afterw^{ds} sent Rob^t up with some prunes. – Staid at off: &c 'till 2. – At 4 went again to off: call'd at Mr Ames's & at Cross's³⁷⁸ – drank tea with mother call'd on Miss Penny then to off: afterw^{ds} call'd at Dominiceti's³⁷⁹ where Mr Penny had been doing business: but he was gone from thence – Went home p 6 & spent an hour or two alone. Oh Lord bless & do for me & for all belong^g to me, as we respectively need.

Thursday, June 17, 1762

Rose p 6 at 9 up in town afterw^{ds} at Mr Ames's twice & reced money of him.

Went likewise to Bonbonous's – Staid at off &c 'till 2 – After dinner step'd to Dominiceti's sale & then to Mr Penny's & stay'd there 'till 6. Mrs Green came while I was there – a person I have not seen many years since – she was formerly Miss Dinham.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the spirit is spirit'.

³⁷⁵ Not identified.

³⁷⁶ Stephen Stringer, possibly the staymaker listed at 4 College Street in 1775. James Norton (see 2/6) had gone to 'board with Mr Stringer in the country' in November 1761, suggesting he was a Wesleyan.

³⁷⁷ See 7/6.

³⁷⁸ Possibly John Cross, warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1751 and wine merchant, who went bankrupt in September 1763. He may also be the John Cross who in 1770 became partner in Beddome (see 18/8) and Cross.

³⁷⁹ Bartholemew di Dominiceti (fl. 1735–1782) was, by his own account, a Venetian nobleman, physician, surgeon and chemist, who arrived in Bristol in about 1756 and stayed until 1764, when he moved to London and established himself at 6 Cheyne Walk in Chelsea. His particular trademark was the provision of hot and cold bathing facilities for treating patients at his houses (in Bristol in Guinea Street then on College Green), but he also had an apothecary's shop on the Key until September 1762. He was imprisoned for a period in 1758 on unknown charges (when also described as 'alias Alexander Cortesi') but released, and he engaged in regular press disputes with rivals, including the Bristol apothecary Jeremiah Slade, publishing works to vindicate himself, namely his *Short and Calm Apology* (Bristol, 1762) and later his *Medical Anecdotes of the Last Thirty Years* (1781). He was listed as a bankrupt druggist in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762 (p. 243) and his sale (see 17/6) is presumably of the contents of his apothecary shop.

³⁸⁰ This must be Sally Green; in 1785 Dyer records the death of William Green distiller who had married Sally, daughter of Robert Dinham*.

Went to off: & afterw^{ds} took walk & read in a book Mr Penny just now lent me “The world unmasked or the philosopher the greatest cheat”³⁸¹ wherein I found some satisfaction. Mr Ames & his servant who were tak^g a ride to Glass Mills³⁸² overtook me – & I met them again at my return. At my return saw a corps interr’d at ye burying ground near George’s Street³⁸³ the man who prayed spoke very feelingly & seemed possess’d of the root of the matter.

Call’d on Barnes – also on Mr Eaton & Mrs Giles. Ye latter seems in great affliction proceed^g from the threats of her adversary Mr James. May Jesus oppose every diabolical charm which may be levelling against her & may the Lord sanctify this affliction unto her.

Friday, June 18, 1762

Rose about 5. Went to Clifton & took horse there – rode to Littleton.³⁸⁴ from thence to a wood near Havdet Green³⁸⁵ beyond ye Bell at Wrington Leigh, & view’d some alder w^{ch} was corded up leo^r by Rich^d Cooper.³⁸⁶ From thence rode to Nailsey & that with some perplexity: hav^g lost my way several times & my strength was much exhausted for want of refreshment – Went to Twickenham Wood³⁸⁷ near Nailsey & viewed some alder there also – & past 4 arrived at ye George at Backwell & dined there & between 6 & 7 arrived at Clifton & home p 8.

I have experienced great mercys today – The Lord directed which way to set out that is I first designed going to Nailsey and come home by Littleton w^{ch} wou’d have proved very inconvenient whereas I was lead to go to Littleton first which proved much the best.

³⁸¹ *The World Unmask’d: or, the Philosopher the Greatest Cheat; in twenty-four dialogues Between Crito a Philosopher, Philo a Lawyer, and Erastus a Merchant In which True Virtue is distinguished from what usually bears the Name or Resemblance of it: The many Prejudices and Mistakes in Judgment and Practice, in regard to conscience and religion, are examined and rectified: And the Value of truth is shewn; with the Reasons why it is not more generally known. To which is added, The state of Souls separated from their Bodies: Being an Epistolary Treatise, wherein is proved, by a Variety of Arguments, deduced from Holy Scripture, that the Punishments of the Wicked will not be Eternal; and all Objections against it solved. In Answer to a Treatise, entitled, An Enquiry into Origenism. Together with A Large Introduction, evincing the same Truth from the Principles of Natural Religion. Translated from the French.* (London, 1736; second edition in 2 volumes 1743), a translation of Marie Huber’s *Le monde fou préféré au monde sage* (1731), and *Le système des anciens et des modernes* (1733).

³⁸² The ‘Glass Mill’, fed by the Boiling Well Brook (see 7/6), was in Ashley Vale Stapleton, along a lane from Baptist Mills.

³⁸³ *FFBJ* 16 October 1762 onwards carries an advertisement for the universal burying ground behind Eugene St near the poorhouse without Lawford’s Gate. It was presumably universal both as a non-denominational site and because of its low prices: it offered a burial for 4 shillings for a man or woman, 3 shillings for a child and 1 shilling for a stillborn child. They had also opened a ‘coffin and shroud warehouse for the benefit of the poor’, and a list of their prices is given.

³⁸⁴ Dyer’s first Friday visit to Littleton since the suspension of work there on 23 April. He resumes weekly visits from now on, though he never states that the works have been re-opened.

³⁸⁵ Havyatt Green is between Wrington and Langford. On Bowen’s map it is spelled Havgat, though in Rack’s survey it is Havyatt Green or Havyatt.

³⁸⁶ Possibly the alder was to be used to make charcoal for strong powder – see 3/4 and 14/4. I do not know what ‘leo’ is an abbreviation of.

³⁸⁷ Presumably an error for Tickenham, a parish just north-west of Nailsea, which contained Limebridge Wood.

Saturday, June 19, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 – Call'd at fathers this morning – afterw^{ds} at off: & 'till 2 – p 3 at off: & in even^s went with Mr Eaton to Clifton – ye behavio^r of that unhappy woman³⁸⁸ depresses my mind but may I look above it. Mr Brown call'd this ev^s He wants ye mare next week.

Sunday, June 20, 1762

Rose about 7. Went to St Werb^{ghs} morn^g & aftern^o & heard Mr Symes who ret^d from the country yesterd^y. In ye ev^s I reced a lett^r f^m our d^r fr^d Mrs S & this even^s my spirits were in great ferment occasion'd I suppose by s^d let^r³⁸⁹ whereby I had but an indifferent nights rest – awoke at 2 o'clock &

Monday [June] 21 [1762] morn^g rose at 3 employ'd my self 'till 5 in scribbling an ans^r to our d^r fr^d w^{ch} after all I believe I shall not send. About 6 went with Giles Gillard to Clifton & sent him from thence with the mare to Mr Brown at Harptree – where she is to continue the whole week. Ret^d home & at 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Mother Davis^s. Staid at off & c 'till 2. After din^r electr^{is}^d a couple of patients one of whom was an elderly man whom Mr Brown sent from Harptree. p 3 at off: In the even^s I visited poor Bro^r Jn^o who is reduced very low by a purg^g w^{ch} he has had 2 or 3 days past. –Ret^d home p 8. Last Saturday even^s the balloting of malitia men for this city was performed.³⁹⁰

Tuesday, June 22, 1762

Rose ab^t 8. Afterw^{ds} call'd on my friend Mr Symes – & at 10 at off staid there & c 'till 2 – At 4 went to St Nich^s & heard Mr Symes there – In even^s visited Bro^r Jn^o & home near 9.

This morn^g went to Mr Brights who interrogated about ye affair at ye Lamb.

Wednesday, June 23, 1762

Awoke this morn^g about 2 & was somewhat uneasy about poor Bro^r Jn^o from a dream w^{ch} I had last night. I apprehended it a kind notice given me of his approach^s decease, whether it was so or not, ye Lord only knows.³⁹¹ –

Went up in town p 9 – afterw^{ds} sent Rob^t up to Clifton. Staid on Change 'till 2 after din^r call'd on mother – then visited poor Bro^r Jn^o & had ½ an hours serious conversⁿ alone.

Ab^t 6 home ret^d to off: and p 8 home again.

³⁸⁸ John Dyer's* wife.

³⁸⁹ See 23/5, 21/6 and 26–27/6.

³⁹⁰ See 1/6.

³⁹¹ For dreams as 'kind notices' see introduction.

Thursday, [June] 24, [1762]

Rose ab^t 7.- At 9 up in town – At ½ p 10 went to St Werburghs & heard an excellent discourse & the opportunity was a blessing to my soul. –

Staid at off: &c ‘till 2. – Ret^d again p 3 went to Brewho. at 5 home. Then to off & st^d ‘till 8.

Mr Durbin came & was electrified this aftern^o.

Friday, June 25, 1762

Rose p 6. & at 8 mount Robt Davis’s³⁹² mare, & road to Littleton. & made an excursion to Harptree. but my friend Bro.. was from home. Made a short stay & reach’d ye Great Garden³⁹³ ½ p 3 to dinner. Ye above R Davis’s poor wife dyed (it seems) ye 30 May last after a short illness.

After din^r went to off: call’d at Mr Davis’s drank tea at Sis^r Hop^s from thence went to Mr Penny’s and to Mr Eaton’s, and we three took walk & ret^d home p 8.

Saturday, June 26, 1762

Rose ab^t 6. – Afterw^{ds} went in Stokes Croft. called on fathers. p 8 at off & finished my let^r to our fr^d Mrs S: w^{ch} I’ve been labour^g about all this week.

Mr A: came to off: & ord^d that all ye petre 500 bags shall be sent per James as he will carry at 2/9 & Giles people will not carry under 3/ per C. The selfishness and cunning of worldly men seems more & more manifested every day. Lord give me not to fear man. But to walk humbly before my God & to be solely devoted to himself. This aftern^o wrote Bro^r James – about 5 visited Bro^r Jn^o – call’d at Mr Symes’s afterw^{ds} & home p 8. This ev^g mother ret^d from Bath where she went yesterday morn^g to visit Mrs Luther³⁹⁴, but ret^d without seeing her & therefore without success.

Sunday, June 27, 1762

This day some few particular occurrences has happened more than usual.

In ye morn^g went to St Werb^{ghs} & heard an affecting discourse from these words “Thou fool this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be &c”³⁹⁵

Convey’d my epistle to our worthy friend who informed AD that she wou’d pay us a visit this aftern^o – on which acco^t I staid at home. But was disappointed of our

³⁹² See 3/5.

³⁹³ Dyer’s home since 1758 was a house ‘wherein Mr Geo Berry had dwelt’, costing £8 yearly, which he considered ‘a palace’ in comparison to his former house in Redcliff Street. It was in the area known as Great Garden, built on the former gardens of the Augustinian Friars in Temple parish, which included Church Street and Temple Church Lane, Avon Street and Tower Street. A 1761 jury list for Temple lists William Dyer accountant in Avon Street. His ‘neighbour’ William Green was at no. 6 Avon Street in 1775, alongside coopers, tailors, flax-dressers, victuallers and an ‘accountant’.

³⁹⁴ The will of a Charlotte Luther widow of Bath was proved on 14 May 1778; in 1775 a George Luther was a customs house officer at 3 Stoney Hill in Bristol.

³⁹⁵ The text is Luke 12: 20.

expectation & our friend sent to acquaint us she was prevented com^g by a person who happened to visit her.

In ye even^g Mrs Giles & Mrs Eaton came & drank tea.

O my Lord shew that mercy to me I need.

Monday, June 28, 1762

May I be enabled to take ye advice given me by my friend Rachel this even^g that is, to only look at ye present moment & not to look forward & be anxious for how I shall live in future. The Lord preserves & provides for me now, therefore trust him to preserve & provide in future.

This morn^g went to Brewho: breakfas^d with mother. p 9 at off & staid there &c 'till 2. Mrs Ramzor call'd aftern^o din^r desir^g me to get her husband excused serv^g ye office of collect^g ye wind^o tax³⁹⁶ at Bedmins^t but 'tis not in my power. – Sis^r Hop^g & Mrs Hill³⁹⁷ drank tea with us. – I staid 'till 6. then to off afterwards at Room & p 8 home.

Tuesday, June 29, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & p 7 went to Brewho & staid 'till 9. then up in town & afterwards reced a written invitation from Mr Attwood to dine with Mr Mayor today. – At 11 went to St Werbth & heard a good discourse. – Staid on Change &c 'till ½ p 1 then went home & dress'd myself. & at ½ p 2 went to Mr Mayors (viz Isaac Elton esq) in ye Square³⁹⁸ & dined there with 60 or 70 persons besides. Amongst whom were most of ye Custom house officers belonging to ye port – or rather ye clerks w^{ch} sit in ye Long Room.³⁹⁹ ye rest were chiefly landwaiters⁴⁰⁰ ye remain^r of ye comp^a were tradesmen & captains of Mr Elton's ships. – I unluckily was situated at ye lower end of the table whereby I became toastmaster. – I staid 'till ½ p 4 & was very glad then to get away – Went home & drank tea. Ret^d to off: at 6 – The Committee met consist^g of Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, Mr Wansey, Mr Deane – who most of 'em came in singly & made very last stay – At 7 I visited Bro^r Jn^o who appears much better – & at 8 went to Mr Symes's & st^d there with AD (who dined there) 'till 10 then home.

[Wednesday 30 June 1762 – see next day]

Thursday, July 1, 1762

Yesterday morn^g about 8 I sat out for Glos^t & arrivd there ½ p 3 – went to Aunt Dyers where I took up my lodg^g & heard the whole acco^t of poor uncle, but things are not so bad with regard to him & Mrs Freely as was reported.⁴⁰¹ But I seem to have come labour in vain with regard to Bro^r James's note.

³⁹⁶ The window tax of 1696 had been revised in 1747 and was increased in both 1758 and 1761.

³⁹⁷ Mrs Hill lived in an apartment within the household of Samuel* and Hannah Hopkins*, Ann Dyer's* sister. See 19/7.

³⁹⁸ During his year of office the Mayor (Isaac Elton*) occupied the mansion house in Queen Square.

³⁹⁹ See 8/1.

⁴⁰⁰ Customs officers who oversaw the loading and unloading of goods.

⁴⁰¹ When Dyer had visited his uncle James Dyer* at Gloucester in March 1761 they were 'in company with Mrs Freely', and it seems his uncle was suspected of an affair with her. See 29/5 and 7/6.

I went to Aunt Davis also to Mrs Oliver & reced ye remainder of ADs legacy which is ye whole unless a bond of £100 shou'd ever be paid, w^{ch} is not expected.

Put up at Boothall⁴⁰² and this morn^g rose before 4 & at 5 sat out. – Rachell Dyer daughter of my uncle Williams (who has been sometime with uncle James) accompanied me to ye south Gate. – I came home in company with a gentlemans servant & arrived at ½ p 12

aftern^o went to off: & wrote long letter to Bro^r James went up to Mr A^s but cou'd not meet with him.

Friday, July 2, 1762

Rose p 6. Electrised Miss Roe⁴⁰³ for rhumatism. – At 8 sat out for Littleton & ret^d home p 12. Dined & went to off p 1 & staid there &c 'till 5 then home – AD visits Mrs Daniel⁴⁰⁴ at Cust^o H^o this aftern^o – p 6 went to Mother Davis^s afterw^{ds} took walk with Mr Eaton & home p 8.

Saturday, July 3, 1762

Rose p 6. Electris^d Miss Roe went up to town p 9. This day our waggon arriv'd from Liverp^o staid at off &c 'till 2. Communicated to Mr A^s the contents of Bro^r Ja^s letter ab^t send^g ye petre. & he orderd that James and Giles shou'd have ½ each if at 2/6 per C.

Afterno wrote Bro^r Ja^s. Staid at off 'till p 7 then went to Clifton & found Bro^r Jn^o greatly mended. May he make a due use of his time. May I as well as him do the same.

This aftern^o Mr Badderly call'd on me at off:.

[Sunday, July 4, 1762 – see next day]

Monday, July 5, 1762

Yesterdy morn^g went to College & sacra^t & aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} & spent ev^g at home.

This morn^g rose about 6 at 9 up in town & afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House. – At 2 home. after din^r wrote let^r to Bro^r James & afterw^{ds} went to College Green & met with Mr Brown there & consulted him & agreed to sell our poor mare, who will very probably be soon blind. We went to Mr Allisons & drank tea there & parted at 7. Mr B gave such an acco^t of poor Mr Chapman as is enough to make one shudder.

Surely this is a time of falling away! Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall!⁴⁰⁵ Lord enable me to watch & pray.

This ev^g called on Mr Morrish & home p 8.

⁴⁰² The guildhall of Gloucester on the south side of Westgate Street; a Boothall inn, where Dyer stayed, occupied the street frontage of the site.

⁴⁰³ See 25/8 onwards for Dyer's treatment of one of two sisters for cancer. The epitomised diary says they lived in Cannon Street near St James.

⁴⁰⁴ See 18/1.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall' (I Corinthians 10: 8).

Tuesday, July 6, 1762

Went this morn^s to Brewho: & afterwards went to the Lamb, where poor Mrs Giles inform'd me that the old work has began again.⁴⁰⁶ Last Sunday morn^s it begun with throw^s about Doppeys shoe. –She has since been pinch'd scratch'd & cut & great numbers of crooked pinns have been conveyed into her bosom.

At 9 went to off: & staid there &c 'till 2.

Staid at home 'till ½ p 5 then up in town went to Mr Symes's but he happened to be from home. He dined at the Infirmary feast today & preached also before ye subscribers.⁴⁰⁷ At p 7 went home & Mr Brown came afterw^{ds} & st^d 'till towards 10. His Bro^r Char^s likewise called upon us.

Wednesday, July 7, 1762

This morn^s went to Capt Nicholas's⁴⁰⁸ also to Hale & Maddernes⁴⁰⁹ with bill reced from Bro^r James for £40 but refused paym^t. Staid at off & 'till 2.

Mr Levi Ames & James the waggoner came up to off: this morn^s & the sight of the latter made me somewhat shudder as I saw the same man in my dream some nights ago & he looked with exceeding great bitterness upon me & no doubt bitterness was in his heart today tho' it did not appear in his countenancy. May I be thankful that God has suffer'd several times (of late months expecially) kind hints to be given me in my sleep of any thing particular w^{ch} was soon approaching. Mr Powell came up this morn^s & order'd me to call for ye Hungerford.⁴¹⁰ Mr A^s was there at same time.

This aftern^o went up to Clifton afterw^{ds} call'd at Mr Symes's & they both were going out. At 5 home then to off: & std 'till ½ p 7. Mr Southcote called & had a dra^t of me for £13 – & gave me cash. Went to Helpful Society & home ab^t 9.

Thursday, July 8, 1762

This morn^s ab^t ½ p 8 call'd to Mr Fry with his key of Soc^y Chest⁴¹¹ & then to Mr Powell & reced for ship Hungerford then to off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House. Staid at off: &c 'till 2 at 4 up in town – p 5 went to mothers & drank tea p 6 at off & staid 'till 8 then home.

This day the Lord has sent a gracious rain upon his inheritance – the thirsty earth stood much in need of it.

⁴⁰⁶ See 12/7.

⁴⁰⁷ *FFBJ* 3 July contains a notice that Tuesday 6th July, the sermon at St James for the subscribers to Bristol Infirmary would be by Symes*. The Infirmary (established in 1737) depended on annual subscriptions, and each year saw a civic procession led by the corporation, with the clergy and the medical faculty in their gowns, to an annual sermon (normally at St James) followed by a dinner and meeting for subscribers. See 10/7 for the sermon.

⁴⁰⁸ Possibly Edward Nicholas, who was trading to Africa in 1759 and is listed as a merchant at 10 Orchard Street in 1775.

⁴⁰⁹ See 29/1.

⁴¹⁰ See 4/5.

⁴¹¹ See 6/1. Mr Fry may be Zephaniah* or perhaps a Fry who lived south of the river. Dyer later noted the deaths of both William Fry grocer of 2 Dolphin Street (in 1776) and (in 1788) of 'my old acquaintance Mr William Fry of Guinea Street, founder of the house of mercy for 8 women on Colston's parade'. Dyer left a legacy in his will of 1797 to this almshouse, opened in 1778 and endowed with £50 p.a. by Fry.

Friday, July 9, 1762

About 8 sat out for Littleton & went from thence to Hungroad magazine call'd at Failands Inn⁴¹² & dined & at 4 reach'd home where unexpectedly met d^r friend Mrs S: who staid 'till near 7. Mother & Miss Suckey Cox was also there.

Went to off at 7 & home at 8. Reced a let^r from Bro^r Ja^s today & from a hint therein, I doubt he is in a bad state of health, w^{ch} has excited a disposition in me to visit him.

Saturday, July 10, 1762

Went to Brewho: this morn^g call'd at Sis^r Hop^s breakfasted at Mr Symes's & at 10 went home & spent 2 hours wth d^r friend Mrs S: who paid us another visit.

Went to off & st^d 'till 2 p 3 at off: & at 4 went to Mr Symes's took walk – drank tea with him & he read his discourse w^{ch} was preach'd before ye Infirmary subscribers last Tues^y*. p 7 up in town & then home. * Ye poor ye have always with you & you may do them good" St Mark chap: ye ... th.⁴¹³

Sunday, July 11, 1762

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o & heard two excellent discourses.

Enjoy'd a calm of mind chief part of this day. This even^g niggardliness arose within me, but simply & in silence laying my heart open to ye Lord, it was soon suppressed.

Mother & Miss Cox spent the even^g with us – Read one or two accounts out of Burnhams pious memorials, w^{ch} were very affecting.⁴¹⁴ May the Lord deeply impress them on our hearts.

Monday, [July] 12, [1762]

This day I have nothing material to record. Took a walk this even^g & talk'd with him who is invisible.

Staid at off: &c from 10 'till 2. This aftern^o Mrs Morris sen^r⁴¹⁵ drank tea with us.- This morn^g call'd on Mr Eaton who inform'd me that last Wednes^y ye infernal tormentor ans^d him & Mr Durbin some quest^s by scratches as usual since which the child (Doppey) has felt little or nothing.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹² Failand is a village on the road between Long Ashton and Wraxall; *FFBJ* 13 July 1762 advertised the Failands Inn to let at Michaelmas.

⁴¹³ See 6/7. The text is Mark 14: 7 'ye have the poor with you always and whensoever ye will ye may do them good'. Some of these sermons were published, for example those by Seyer* in 1755 and Camplin* in 1766, but not this one.

⁴¹⁴ *Pious Memorials; or, the power of religion upon the mind in sickness and at death: exemplified in the experience of many divines and other eminent persons at those important seasons. Interspersed with what was most remarkable in their lives. By the late Mr Richard Burnham. With a preface by the Rev. Mr Hervey, author of the Divine Meditations* (1753; 2nd edn 1754). See 31/12.

⁴¹⁵ See William Morrish*.

⁴¹⁶ Durbin's first recorded visit to the Lamb since May is on Wednesday 7 July (p. 48) when he mentions pins, bites and knife cuts. They also asked several questions, including 'If Mr Giles lost his life wholly by the witchcraft' (yes) and 'If Mr Giles had spoken to the woman that day, would his life have been saved?' This refers to an episode on 12 May (the day before Giles fell ill) recorded by Durbin (p.46–7) but not Dyer: 'Mr Giles was a little out of order, He told me he had been to Bath in his one-horse chair and coming home,

Tuesday, July 13, 1762

This morn^g ½ p 8 went up to Clifton but Bro^r Jn^o was gone to mothers to breakfast. I went down to ye Wells⁴¹⁷ to seek after them & afterwards call'd on Mr Mayor⁴¹⁸ who kept me an hour convers^s about ye pow^r wk &c. – near 11 at off & staid 'till 2 p 4 ret^d to off: & st^d 'till ½ p 7. The Committee met this ev^g which consisted only of Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, & Mr Wansey – Afterw^{ds} took walk. Met with Mr Eaton & home ab^t 9. May I be thankful for the Lords mercy that he preserves me from out of the way of those temptations w^{ch} woud allure & draw my heart away after them.

Wednesday, July 14, 1762

This morn^g at 7 went to Mr Bulls & staid 'till 10. Then to off & staid there &c 'till 2. Near 5 up in town & st^d at off &c 'till 8 then home.

Thursday, July 15, 1762

Surely there is a blessed and good providence resides over me! Lord make me truly thankful.

I reced a let^r from Bro^r Ja^s today & from an invitation given me therein I intended taking a place in ye one day machine⁴¹⁹ to pay him a visit who is poor fellow in a bad state of health. But exceed^s providentially I discovered today that Bro^r Jn^o was going to Lond^o (tho' with great secrecy)⁴²⁰ & at 10 clock this even^g I saw him take coach at ye Bridge End. May the Lord protect & bless him.

This morn^g breakfas^d with moth^r p 9 at off & st^d there &c 'till 2. Our d^r friend Mrs S paid AD & Rach^l a visit this morn^g.

This aftern^o at 4 Mr Hen Allen came to our office & assisted me in exam^s Hazards acco^t.⁴²¹ This ev^g at 6 call'd on Mr Symes & him & I went to Clifton & call'd on JD. afterw^{ds} I call'd on Mr Brown then to off & home at 9 & then ret^d up in town as above.

near the place where his wagons used to be affected, the leather broke belonging to his horse. He got out of the chair to mend it, and went round the wheels of it, but saw nobody. After it was mended, he saw standing still by the wheel, a woman dressed in a cloak. He looked at her. She said nothing but stood still. He then thought it was the woman that troubled his family, and that said, She wanted to speak with him [see footnote on 30/4]; but as she did not speak, his heart failed him, so that he got up into his chair, and did not speak. He drove on a little, and then looked back, but she was gone. This happened before night.' They also asked 'If anyone else would die?' and were told a female would die: Durbin notes 'the youngest daughter died some months after, but had not been affected as her two sisters'. For Dyer's treatment of this girl (Jane) see below; she died 15 April and was buried 18 April 1763 at St Philip and St Jacob. Durbin also records pins in Dobby's shift on the 8th.

⁴¹⁷ The Hotwells.

⁴¹⁸ Isaac Elton*.

⁴¹⁹ The first advertisement regarding this machine is only in April 1763. It took 24 hours to reach London, operated only in the summer months and cost 30 shillings. This was 3 shillings more than the two-day machines, running since the start of the century, which operated three times a week in the summer, starting at 2 a.m.

⁴²⁰ Presumably John Dyer* was worried his creditors might arrest him for debt.

⁴²¹ A plumber called Hazard had been in dispute with Dyer's brother John (settled by arbitration) in January 1761; in 1775 'Hazard, widow, plumber' is listed at 30 Lewin's Mead.

Friday, July 16, 1762

Rose about 6 after an indifferent nights right.⁴²² The transactions of yesterday had occasion'd some disturbance in my spirits.

This morn^s took in a load petre from James's wagons – & at 8 went to Mrs Olivers⁴²³ & staid some time before ye mare was broⁱ from field. – Then rode to Littleton – call'd also at farmer Reeds⁴²⁴ & home p 12. – p 1 up in town – afterw^{ds} went to Tow^r Harratz & took in another load petre from James. – p 3 call'd on Mr Brown at Gram^r School. Then to off: at 5 home. – At 7 took walk & p 8 ret^d home again.

Saturday, July 17, 1762

Rose near 7 – near 9 call'd on Mr Symes & near 10 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2. – After din^r went to off: & transcribed a memorial to be presented Lord Ligonier⁴²⁵ & went with it to Mr Wansey, Mr Baugh & Mr Ames & both the latter signed it. Near 6 home where had ye pleasure of drinking tea with Mr Symes – p 7 ret^d to off: & copyed a long letter w^{ch} Mr Wansey had wrote to Mr Strachey Jun^r which detained me 'till near 9 then home but my fr^d Mr Symes was gone home.

Sunday, July 18, 1762

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o & heard 2 excellent descourses – spent ev^g at home & found retirement very sweet.

Monday, [July] 19, [1762]

Rose before 6. p 9 up in town went to Palmers shop & met wth some there who conversed about Dr Chandler's book relative to David a man after Gods own heart & also of another author who has answer'd said book⁴²⁶ – but it seems to me these learned men are only quarrel^s about words – 'tis heart experience they want in order to make 'em fit to write or speak properly of David that man of experience. When I afterw^{ds} look'd into ye 12th 1st Corinth^s⁴²⁷ I felt something far sweeter than was ye dry insipid convers^a 'on ye above subject. St^d 'till 2 at off: &c. p 4 ret^d to off: again.

This aftern^o our d^r friend Rachell ret^d home to her little habitation it was this day 8 wks since she came to our house. – At 5 I went to Sis^r Hop^s & drank tea in Mrs Hills

⁴²² Presumably Dyer meant 'rest'.

⁴²³ See 30/4.

⁴²⁴ Not identified.

⁴²⁵ John Ligonier (1680–1770) was in 1762 both Commander in Chief of the army, and also Master General of the Ordnance. He was also M.P. for Bath and so open to lobbying to support the nearby gunpowder works at Woolley, though he referred their requests (via Strachey*) to his surveyor-general Sir Charles Frederick to answer. See *ODNB* entry.

⁴²⁶ [John Noorthouck], *The History of the Man after God's own Heart* (1761), was responded to by Samuel Chandler in *A Review of The History of the Man after God's own Heart; in which the Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of the Historian are Exposed and Corrected* (1762). Noorthouck replied with *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler* (1762).

⁴²⁷ 1 Corinthians chapter 12 considers the diversity of 'spiritual gifts', leading to the famous thirteenth chapter on 'charity'.

apartment⁴²⁸ with AD & Rachell. Surely ye convers^a of that child of God has been often useful to my poor soul. Lord grant me onely to prize ye blessing while I can enjoy it.

p 6 ret^d to off: & st^d 'till 8 then home.

Tuesday, July 20, 1762

Rose p 6. – p 7 went up in ye Croft⁴²⁹ breakfas^d with mother. Afterw^{ds} call'd on Capt Cheyne & look'd in his Medical Essays⁴³⁰ – p 9 at off & st^d there &c 'till 2. – After din^r visited Mrs Green who seems inclinable to ye dropsy⁴³¹ – advised her to red cow's urine. p 4 at off at 5 home. ret^d to off: afterw^{ds} visited Mother Davis's call'd on Mrs Giles⁴³² & afterw^{ds} visited poor Rach^l & enjoyed a comfortable opportunity there.

Wednesday, July 21, 1762

Ab^t 9 up in town then went to Mr Bulls & st^d there 'till ½ p 10 then to off & st^d 'till 2. I felt pride & corrupⁿ today. Lord have mercy on me as I need.

This aftern^o at 5 ret^d to off: & begun mak^g some extracts from Poirrets 6th vol.⁴³³

At 6 call'd on Mr Penny & we both went to Mr Eatons & from thence we all took a walk up to Whitehall⁴³⁴ – saw Mr Hart in our way, who said that Mr Johnson of Cirences⁴³⁵ (he hears) has discover'd a method of convey^g ye electrical shock witho^t giv^g pain. But I cannot conceive how. Ret^d home p 8.

Thursday, July 22, 1762

This morn^g p 7 went to Brewho: & st^d 'till near 9. Called at Mr Palmers who lent me Dr Casaubon who wrote in 1675 on spirits, witches and supernatural operations.

⁴²⁸ See 28/6.

⁴²⁹ Stokes Croft.

⁴³⁰ There is no sign that Cheyne* published any such work, so this probably refers to Cheyne's copy of the very popular *Medical Essays and Observations* by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, first published in 1746, whose 5th edition in 1752 was in five volumes.

⁴³¹ A morbid condition with accumulation of watery fluid.

⁴³² Dyer omits several developments affecting Doppey which Durbin (pp. 48–9) records, including pins and spittle on 15 July. On 20 July 'It being near the fair [which started on 25 July], Dobby was sent to a house in Kingswood; as several of their customers had gone to sleep in other inns, on account of these troubles, by which they were great losers.'

⁴³³ *The Divine Oeconomy: or, an universal system of the works and purposes of God towards men, demonstrated. Written originally in French by Peter Poirer. In six volumes* (1713). Volume 6 was entitled 'The oeconomy of universal providence for the salvation of all men...' and also includes 'The principles of real and internal religion asserted and vindicated. ..'. Dyer first records reading this work by Poirer (1646–1719) on 17 April 1759, noting that it was 'replete with most excellent matter' and in 1801 he re-read the sixth volume, summarising its argument as 'no predestination but every dispensation is to recover every man into glorious state for which originally created – but all have free will to accept or reject grace'.

⁴³⁴ A building adjoining the Bridewell, used by the corporation of the poor early in the eighteenth century for a spinning school and in 1739 included within the Bridewell prison.

⁴³⁵ Samuel Johnson (1725–84), perpetual curate of Cirencester 1753–78, was married to Catherine Johnstone, whose sister Jane married the Rev. Richard Hart*. Johnson's son married the daughter of Henry Davis* and his wife, Hart's sister Mary. For his sister Elizabeth, whom Dyer called 'an old experienced Christian among the Methodists' in Bristol at her death in 1798, see *An Account of Mrs Elizabeth Johnson* (Bristol, 1799); in 1794 she sided with Henry Durbin* and Pine* against the separatists.

which is chiefly composed of quotations from old authors & there are several things therein worthy of note.⁴³⁶ I employd most part of ye foren^o in giv^g it a running read^g & then ret^d it to Mr Palmer.

At 2 went home. p 4 ret^d to off: at 6 went to Brewho: but CB:⁴³⁷ was gone out ret^d to off: & home p 8

Friday, July 23, 1762

This morn^g p 7 mounted Rob^t Davies's horse, Mr Brown not being ret^d from ye country with our mare – rode to Littleton & to Mrs Hipsleys at Chew Magna⁴³⁸ – ret^d home p 11 – & at 12 up in town – ret^d home at 2 – at 4 at off: & st^d 'till 6 then to Brewho: & afterw^{ds} visited Rachell & there read a good lre w^{ch} our d^r friend Mrs S: sent for Rach^s perusal & approbation it being for her mother in law.⁴³⁹ She therein sings (in imitation of King Dav^d ye sweet singer of Israel) of the loving kindness of ye Lord – & takes occasion to observe that this may be called enthusiasm but she observes that it is esteemed wisdom to speak of ye excellencys w^{ch} may appear in any of our fellow creatures, how much more sho^d it be esteemed wisdom to speak of ye excellencys of Him from whom every thing amiable is derived – with much more to the same purpose & much better than I can express it.

Friend Hawksth also sent a lre to Rachel this ev^g. St^d there 'till p 8 then home.

Saturday, July 24, 1762

Ab^t 9 went up in town staid at off: 'till 2 & applyed pretty in writ^g & c – p 4 ret^d to off: again & at p 6 went to Sis^r Hopkins^s afterw^{ds} took walk & ret^d home near 8.

Sunday, July 25, 1762

Saw Mr Durbin this morn^g who inform'd me that there was great disturbance at ye Lamb last Friday even^g⁴⁴⁰ & Doppey was greatly tormented.

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o & in ev^g at Mr Symes's & home p 8.

Monday, July 26, 1762 Fair Day

This morn^g our mare Hobby⁴⁴¹ was sent to fair for sale but bro^t back again. most part of this morn^g I was employ^d in writ^g a let^r to Mr H: Durⁿ & ret^d him his book accompany^d wth said let^r this aftern^o.⁴⁴² At p 4 at off at 5 drank tea w^h Sis^r Hop^s: call'd

⁴³⁶ *A Treatise proving Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by Pregnant Instances and Evidences* (1672), a new edition of *On Credulity and Incredulity in Things Natural, Civil and Divine* (1668) by Meric Casaubon (1599–1671).

⁴³⁷ Charles Brown*.

⁴³⁸ The Hipsleys were an extensive and leading family in the area of Somerset north of the Mendips – see www.boddyparts.co.uk/hippisleys.htm.

⁴³⁹ See Rebecca Scudamore*.

⁴⁴⁰ By Durbin's account (see 20/7) Doppey would have been away in Kingswood on this evening. Perhaps he meant the previous Friday (16 July), but Durbin records disturbances on the 15th not the 16th (pp. 48–9).

⁴⁴¹ See 5/7.

⁴⁴² It is unclear what book of Durbin's Dyer meant. If this was a first draft of his *Narrative* of the Lamb Inn affair, then there is no sign in the final version that it was originally composed at this period (see 7/12

on Mr Baugh. afterw^{ds} draw'd up petition for ye Board Ordnance⁴⁴³ – & near 8 home – This aftern^o Mrs Oakey⁴⁴⁴, Miss Salley Hawkswell, my mother, & one Mr Evans a preacher⁴⁴⁵ drank tea at our home.

Tuesday, July 27, 1762

This morn^g I arose at 6 with intent of going down to magazine but upon going to Mrs Olivers I was disappointed of the mare who was not bro^t from field & was inform'd a horse there was fast in the mire in ye horse pool. from whence I concluded it was our mare & thereupon I laved away to field – but found myself under mistake – met with Ramzor who was going down to magazine – at p 9 went to off: visited poor mother who is much indisposed – St^d at off & c 'till 2 felt much insurrection within today & this aftern^o met with a trial from poor Rob^t. The comp^a met this ev^g vizt Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, Mr Deane Mr Wansey.

Visited poor Rach^t this ev^g who has been in great distress lately on acco^t of friend Mrs S.

Wednesday, July 28, 1762

This morn^g p 7 sat out for magaz: inspected several barrels of powder there & found them much overweight. Ret^d home at 11 met with a tryal with poor Sam – ye Lord wash out ye impression w^{ch} sin has made in my soul on that acco^t.

Staid at off: 'till 2 Mr A^s has bo^t 5 h^{ds} sug^r of P.S. Field⁴⁴⁶ in order to secure our debt & this aftern^o went & informd Mr A^s of their being hall'd to G. Bush's – visited Mo^r Davis this ev^g who is much indisposed.

Thursday, July 29, 1762

This morn^g visited Mo^r Davis & afterw^{ds} to my mother. then to off: & st^d there & c 'till 2 –

After din^r went to Cap^t Fowler & had money for our note on ye Indian Prince⁴⁴⁷ – Then visited Mo^r Davis – called on Mrs Giles at ye Lamb who are all very quiet & have been so since ye Fair begun – At 5 home – then to off: & at p 7 went down in ye Fair w^h Charles Brown & found our mare unsold. – Then home.

footnote). For Dyer's letter see 1/8 and 5/8, showing that he was apprehensive as to how Durbin would receive it, which does not suggest that it was about the Lamb Inn affair, so perhaps it was a religious book about which they disagreed?

⁴⁴³ See introduction.

⁴⁴⁴ See 1/3.

⁴⁴⁵ Not identified.

⁴⁴⁶ Pitman Scandrett Field*. See 2/2 and 31/7, 18/9, 20/9. A hogshead was a large cask holding 63 gallons or five hundredweight.

⁴⁴⁷ John Fowler, who was master of many slaving vessels, and then 1758–77 the most active agent in Bristol slaving voyages. The ship the Indian Prince (registered in 1739) regularly traded to West Africa. In 1762 it was owned by 'John Fowler and co' and left Bristol on 28 May, carrying letters of marque allowing it to act as a privateer, but it was taken by the French man of war *Modeste* and sunk. However another ship of the same name was acting as a slaver by 1765.

May ye Lord wash away & blot out ye stains w^{ch} sin made in my s^o yesterd^y. 'tis remark^{le} that I dreamt this morn^g ab^t my beat^g Sam violently about his head. W^{ch} seemed to be fulfilled in his com^g home from school today very ill in his head.⁴⁴⁸

Friday, July 30, 1762

Rose p 5 when ye waggon came to Tow^r Harratz – at 7 sat out for Litⁿ. – Call'd at Mrs Hipsleys at Chew Magna⁴⁴⁹ – ret^d home ab^t 12. – Went to off: & st^d 'till 2. W^m James ye wag^r came to me & I settled with him for ye car^{se} of petre.

p 4 went again to off: p 6 call'd at Mr Allison's – took short walk & then to ye Room & heard a discourse from a venerable old gentleman with white silver locks.

p 8 home.

Saturday, July 31, 1762

This forenoon I was chiefly employ'd in transcrib^g Mr Laws 2 letters no 10 & 11 on Christian comfort⁴⁵⁰ w^{ch} I design for poor Rob^t Davis in whose mind ye work of the Lord seems again to be reviving.⁴⁵¹

Staid at off & c 'till 2 – after din^r call'd at Pitmⁿ Scand^t Fields but without seeing him. afterw^{ds} at Mr Symes's – p 5 home & drank tea in comp^a with Rev Mr Brown. – near 7 poor Mrs Brown is very ill at Harptry. At off: afterw^{ds} visited Mo^r Davis also to my mother & home p 8.

This morn^g Mrs Davis in Maryport Street⁴⁵² was bro^t to bed of a fine boy.

Sunday, Aug^t 1, 1762

This day poor AD & Sam have been all day ill at home.

I went to St Werb^{ghs} morn^g & aftern^o – ye let^r I sent Mr H D⁴⁵³ sometimes oppresses my mind – may ye Lord pardon what I have done amiss therein – & deliver me from selfishness: pride: vanity of mind & ye like. – Lord crucify these enemys of thine in my heart.

Monday, Aug^t 2, 1762

Rose this morn^g ab^t 6 after a very indifferent nights rest occasion'd by poor AD's illness. – call'd on Mr Brown this morn^g to enq^{re} after Mrs Brown's health who is somewhat better.

Went to off: & st^d there & c 'till 2 – after din^r p 4 visited Rachell & staid there 'till near 6 then to off: afterw^{ds} at Mr Allison's & then call'd on Mr Symes & took a short walk & home near 9.

⁴⁴⁸ Samuel Dyer* was at Bristol Grammar School, taught by Seyer* and Brown*.

⁴⁴⁹ See 23/7.

⁴⁵⁰ *A Collection of Letters on the Most Interesting and Important Subjects, and on Several Occasions* (1760) by William Law*. See 15/8.

⁴⁵¹ This probably refers to his friend who lent him his horse (see 3/5) rather than his brother-in-law Robert*, though see 10/6 and 26/8 for references to the latter's revival of religious interests. See 18/8.

⁴⁵² See Henry Davis*.

⁴⁵³ Henry Durbin*. See 26/7 and 5/8.

Tuesday, [August] 3^d, [1762]

This morn^g went to booksellers in fair. Met with a book there wrote by Beaumont⁴⁵⁴ on ye wonders of ye invisible world, wherein are some things extraord^y related of Mr Jn^o Pordage concern^g his eyes being opened to ye light & dark world & what he saw of each.⁴⁵⁵

Called at Edwards's:⁴⁵⁶ visited Mother Davis: then to off: & st^d there &c 'till 2. – After din^r at 4 ret^d to off afterw^{ds} at St Nich^s & heard a good discourse from Mr Brown 1: Peter 5 “And when the chief shepherd shall appear ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.”⁴⁵⁷ –

At 6 went to Mr Pennys & staid there ½ an hour. – Mrs Ball was there also Mr Wilcox & Mrs Balls daughter Wilcox⁴⁵⁸ – But Mr Penny cou'd not go with me therefore went up to Mr Eaton & we both took walk together. It seems that last Friday or Saturday even^g Doppey Giles was again tormented pretty much by bites.⁴⁵⁹

On my return home p 8 I heard Mr Webster of Lond^o a friend of Bro^r James's had call'd & desired my comp^a at ye Pelican⁴⁶⁰ this even^g but lucky for me I happened to be out as I am an exceed^g improper person to spend an even^g at an inn. – Oh Lord keep & preserve me in every time of need. This afterⁿ the Glouces^r shire⁴⁶¹ from Jam^a I hear is arriv'd in Kingroad.⁴⁶²

Wednesday, Aug^t 4, 1762

Call'd this morn^g before 8 on Mr Webster at the Pelican & breakfas^d with him there – p 9 at off: went to bank & enquired there concern^g Hale and Maddernes⁴⁶³ dra^{ts} p[er] Mr Websters request & at 11 call'd on him at Forsters Coffeehouse⁴⁶⁴ & went with him to Benedict Maddern whom we met with at Post Office. – I left them in ye Exchange & went to off: & std 'till 2 near 5 ret^d to off: & found Mr Webster had been there waiting for me. But I missed him. Std at off: &c 'till p 7 then went to Helpful Society & home. & at 9 went to the Pelican to Mr Webster where was Benedict Maddern with acco^t of H & M debts &c. – Staid there with 'em 'till 10. then home.

⁴⁵⁴ See 21/2 and 18/8 for Beaumont's book.

⁴⁵⁵ John Pordage (1607–81) was a radical Behmenist. In 1771 Dyer 'perused the trial of Dr Pordage'. See *ODNB* entry.

⁴⁵⁶ Not identified.

⁴⁵⁷ The text is I Peter 5: 4.

⁴⁵⁸ Thomas Goldney, Hannah Ball's* brother, recorded that Joseph Wilcocks had married Molly Ball on 10 October 1760.

⁴⁵⁹ Durbin (p.49) records that when Doppey returned home after the fair 'there was nothing material happened, but a repetition of the same things'.

⁴⁶⁰ In 1755 it was noted that all the posthorses (except to Bath) put up at the Pelican in St Thomas St, where postchaises could also be hired.

⁴⁶¹ Ship not identified but see 9/8, 11–12/8.

⁴⁶² The outer anchorage of sea vessels for Bristol, off Portishead, where they waited for a tide to go up the Avon and were boarded by the customs men.

⁴⁶³ See 29/1.

⁴⁶⁴ At 51 Corn Street.

Thursday, Aug^t 5, 1762

Near 9 went up in town – call'd at Palmers & met Mr HD: there who shook hands friendly & thanked me for my lre – Staid at off: &c 'till 2. Settled w^h Mr D^{ne} for ye Greyhound⁴⁶⁵ & met with a rebuff from him as I did likewise from Mr A^s afterw^{ds} & my poor sp^s were greatly disturbed – Lord shew mercy to me – after din^r electrised Mother Davis for deafness, & she reced benefit. Near 4 up in town at 5 home. Drank tea in comp^a w^h Miss Cox. – Ret^d to off: p 7 call'd on Moth^r Davis & also on Barnes & at 8 call'd on Mr Webster at ye Pelican (who intends seting out tomor^o morn^s) supp'd with him & staid 'till p 10. Left with him a letter for Bro^r James.

Friday, Aug^t 6, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & p 7 sat out for Littleton & ret^d home p 11 – p 12 up in town & staid at off: 'till near 4 then went to Brewho: drank tea with mother afterw^{ds} at Rachells near 7 at off: & near 8 home. – Oh may I have ye mercy shew'd me I need!

Saturday, Aug^t 7, 1762

Rose ab^t 5 – & at 7 sat out for Fulligrove magazine & ret^d home ½ p 10 – Went to off & staid 'till 2. Then home & ret^d ½ p 4 & at 6 went to Mr Penny's & took walk with him & met with Mr Eaton on our road. Ret^d home p 8 – May I be thankful for ye temporal mercys bestow'd upon me.

Sunday, [August] 8, [1762]

Went this foren^o to sacra^t at St Nich^s – aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs}. went with Mr Symes from thence & staid 'till p 7.

This day Mrs Pitman in Baldwin Street dyed.⁴⁶⁶

Monday, Aug^t 9, 1762

Went up in town p 9 & staid at off &c 'till 2. – After dinner call'd on Mr Rowand & discover'd some resentment about his behav^r wth regard to punchⁿ rum⁴⁶⁷ between himself, Mr Faulkes and myself. But my behaviour proceeded from selfishness as well as his did. May that serpent be more & more discovered to me & may Jesus bruise it under his feet.

p 5 went to Sis^r Hop^s & drank tea call'd on Rach^l who shew^d me lre from our fr^d S to her sis^r & from p 6 up in town afterw^{ds} at Room & home p 8.

⁴⁶⁵ One or more ships of this name were involved in the Africa and America trades from the 1720s until the 1770s. This particular one was registered in New England in 1747 and again in Bristol in 1760, and 'Thomas Deane* and co' were recorded as the owners in 1760 and again when it sailed from Bristol on 21 June 1762 for Africa. It was reportedly taken by the French man of war *Modeste* but later redeemed and reregistered in Bristol on 5 February 1763 for 'Thomas Deane and co', sailing again for slaves at Bonny the next day.

⁴⁶⁶ John Pitman was a plumber in Baldwin Street, who had established a lead smelting works across the Avon from the Hotwells in 1756 with his father John (d. 1761); he himself died in 1781.

⁴⁶⁷ A punchion is a vessel holding 84 gallons – see 3/8 and 11–12/8.

Tuesday, [August] 10^h, [1762]

This morn^g ab^t 8 went to off: sorted the town acco^{ts}⁴⁶⁸ & delivered several of them this foreno. – Staid at off: &c ‘till 2 – After din^r call’d on Mr Jones’s in Tho^s Street⁴⁶⁹ then to off: afterw^{ds} went down to Key cross^d ye water to Guiney Street⁴⁷⁰, call’d on Miss Fisher & drank tea there. Lord pardon ye sin I have contracted this day. This ev^g the committee met, consisting of Mr A^s, Mr B^{gh}, Mr Miller, Mr D^{ne}, & Mr Wansey. St^d at off ‘till near 8 then home.

Wednesday, Aug^t 11, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & near 7 mounted Hobby with AD behind me & rode 3 or 4 miles & ret^d home at 9. Then up in town. – Call’d at Mr Rowands & p^d him 6 guineas to pay duty of my share of punchⁿ rum w^{ch} came home p[er] ye Glostershire. Staid at off: &c ‘till 2 then home I design’d going down to magazine this aftern^o with Sis^r Hop^s behind me, but was prevented by Mr Brown send^g to inform me he shou’d want ye mare, tho afterw^{ds} he himself did not go.

After din^r call’d at Mr Tudways at 4 went to Mr Nicholls & saw him & assisted him to electrise a parallitick man⁴⁷¹ – at 5 home. ret^d to off: & p 7 went up to Mr Symes’s – Met with Bro^r Jn^o who return’d from London last night & seems in good health.

AD & I ret^d from Mr Symes’s about 10.

Thursday, Aug^t 12, 1762

We were much disturbed last night by our neighbour Sturmy⁴⁷² who was several hours rapping at his door last night & cou’d not get admittance.

This morn^g at 9 went up in town – went to Rocks:⁴⁷³ Martⁿ: French’s⁴⁷⁴ &c Afterw^{ds} went to Greens & bou^t a couple of old books⁴⁷⁵ – This aftern^o at 3 went with Mr Searl to Rowands & filled 30 gall^s rum out of a h^d reced by the Glos^rshire for acco^t of Row^d, Faulke & myself. St^d there ‘till p 5 then to off: & p 6 home.

⁴⁶⁸ Probably the individual accounts of town firms with the gunpowder company.

⁴⁶⁹ In 1775, 3 people called Jones are listed for Thomas Street, two victuallers and Griffith Jones butter merchant.

⁴⁷⁰ Of the five ferries over the Avon in 1793–4, one went from the Grove to Guinea Street.

⁴⁷¹ Nicholls was a surgeon and man midwife, who was practising at Mrs Labee’s (see 18/10) in Castle Green in 1758, but moved from there to St James Barton in 1763 before taking his practice to Bath. On 19 September 1760 he had come to view Dyer’s electrical machine, having lately bought one for himself.

⁴⁷² Not identified.

⁴⁷³ See 27/3.

⁴⁷⁴ Martin French was a shipowner and trader to Africa, living in Queen Square, who died in November 1763.

⁴⁷⁵ Samuel Green was originally a plainmaker, whose wife Mary had become executrix in December 1761 of the estate of a bookseller called Fisher on the corner of Silver Street in St James. On 20 March 1762 he advertised that he was carrying on the bookselling business ‘in all its branches’ at the bottom of St Michael’s Hill near Trencher Lane and had purchased the entire stock of the late Mr Edward Fisher ‘many thousands of volumes old and new’ sold ‘at the lowest terms, also books let to read by quarter, month or volume’. By 1767 he had a further shop on the Key near the Merchants Hall, and in 1768 he moved his shop to Wine Street on the corner of Dolphin Lane.

Friday, Augⁱ 13, 1762

Rose at 5 & between 6 & 7 sat out for Litⁿ on Rob Davis's mare & met Mr Brown on ye road in his return home on our mare.

Ret^d from Littleton at 10 reced from Mr Wallis a complaint against Jn^o ye waggoner⁴⁷⁶ & Jn^o complain'd (at my return in town) against Mr Wallis who quarrelled with him yesterd^y.

After call'd on Stockesley⁴⁷⁷ & settled with him. Afterw^{ds} at Brewho & staid an hour. Drank tea with mother & then visited Rachell whom I found (unexpectedly) very ill in bed convulsed from head to foot, but amidst all the pain she possesseth solid peace – she intimated that if the fits continue so extremely violent as they are at present she thinks it impossible to live ye night over. She as much as ye fits wou'd let her said many things to encourage me. But her mouth several times was stoped with the violence of ye fits. She said the enemy was angry with her for encouraging me. In the course of her discourse she said that nothing but sin can separate between a believing soul cloathed with flesh & blood & a departed saint, because spirit will unite with spirit. In the midst of her extreme pain she said “My body is no more to me than if I had no body. Indeed (continued she) this is a glorious evening”. She said again “It is a great thing to have the Lord for our friend” again “My soul doth experience what my tongue cannot utter. It seems as if I were already in eternity. As if I were already out of the body. I feel no more anxiety about the pain, than if I had no body.” She said to me she wanted me to help her praise the Lord to w^{ch} I intimated my inability in that respect then said “I will call upon those ... eternity to help me” & after some little silence she said “This moment I feel the angelic power about my bed to help me praise the Lord”

In the course of our conversation she spoke of some of the trials that she had gone thro' in the course of her Christian race. ... mention'd what she experienced at my house about 3 years ago vixt great darkness & distress to which succeeded a revelation from the Lord in which the Lord discovered to her the glorious body which she shou'd be cloathed with when she droped this earthly tabernacle & that chapter which speaks of the revelation made to St Paul (she said) was applicable to herself, for she cou'd not nor cannot express what was discovered to her.

She mentioned that she has had many severe trials from the people professing godliness, & that if it had not been for the great power of God in keep^s her she shou'd have long since thro' ye violent distress on that acco^t have laid violent hands on herself.

Thus it is thro' much tribulation this servant of the Lord must enter into glory. She is truly a living instance of the power of religion on a sick bed.

I omitted to mention above that Rach^l complain'd of the rebellion of nature (as she express'd it) which she now feels at times. & has experienced in this present sickness w^{ch} is yet of only 2 dayes continuance. She said yesterday “Nature murmured & said I will not lye a bed, I will get up” whereas poor creature she is quite unable to sit upright in bed at this time. She said that even this aftern^o from the extreme rage & violence of pain, she thought (& mentioned it to a person who was present at the time) that she cou'd not forbear cursing & swearing – but the power of God prevented it.

⁴⁷⁶ John Jones (see 3/5).

⁴⁷⁷ See 27/2.

But this shews what nature is – there is no goodness in it. She said that frequently after she has experienced great manifestations from ye Lord she has been tempted to believe it was all a delusion. This she said was the thorn in her side – like St Pauls.⁴⁷⁸

This aftern^o our fr^d Mrs S visited AD

Saturday, Aug^t 14, 1762

Rose ab^t 5 p 6 mounted Hobby & rode to magazine & ret^d home again ½ p 9 – Afterw^{ds} call'd at Cust^o House &c but 'tis a holiday there & great rejoicings in town on acco^t of ye birth of a prince who was born last Thurs^y morn^g 7 o'clock.⁴⁷⁹

Went to Mr Camplin's⁴⁸⁰ this morn^g & reced money on acco^t. – after din^r ½ p 3 went to off & st^d till p 6. Then went to Mr Eaton's & we both went to the Lamb where there has been scratching & answers given to questions last night & ye night before, but Doppey is not tormented any other wise than by the scratch^s begin^g so soon as she is in bed.⁴⁸¹ Took short walk with Mr Eaton. Visited father & mo^r then called on Rach^t who is somewhat better but was extremely bad after I left her last night

p 8 home & bro^t let^r for AD from Mrs S.

Sunday, Aug^t 15, 1762

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o & was employ'd between church time in collect^g out some passages from Mr Law's writings & put^g it into ye form of a letter.⁴⁸²

Monday, [August] 16^h, [1762]

My spirit is opprest & low this even^g. Rose this morn^g at 5 & at 9 up in town afterw^{ds} at Cust^o H^o. &c. St^d on Ch^{se} &c till 2. p 3 went to off: & staid expect^g Mr Penny 'till ½ p 6 then visited father who has been lately ill with a looseness & then to Rachells May ye Lord impress on my heart ye advice w^{ch} she has given me this ev^g.

Tuesday, Aug^t 17, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & p 8 up in town – people were in high spirits this morn^g on acco^t of a rich prize bro^t in by the King George Privateer⁴⁸³ – poor fallen man elevated with a shadow! A very trifle! A meer nothing! With regard to real substantial riches 'tis worse than nothing & destruction to ye poor soul who feeds on such emptiness. But notwithstand^g the truth hereof my poor mind was infected with the spirit of the people this morn^g.

⁴⁷⁸ Rachel Tucker's Pauline references are all from 2 Corinthians, namely 5: 1–4 (glorious body) and chapter 12 (revelation to Paul) especially 12: 7 ('a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me').

⁴⁷⁹ The future George IV was born on 12 August. *FFBJ* 21 August has news and poems on the birth and 28 August has the corporation's congratulatory address to the king.

⁴⁸⁰ See 20/4.

⁴⁸¹ Durbin (p. 49) does not mention this episode, but mentions questions on 18 August regarding the date of Polley's return (correctly predicted as in 3 weeks).

⁴⁸² It is not clear if these are for Robert Davis (see 31/7) or for Rebecca Scudamore* (see 9/11). See also 22/8.

⁴⁸³ See 13/2.

Went to Rocks⁴⁸⁴ & settled with him. – Visited Sis^r Hop^s who is extremely ill with retching & purg^g. she seems to have had yester^y a kind notice of this illness from some invisible attendant by 2 loud raps on ye table as she sat in the room below stairs in ye morn^g which Mrs Hill heard as well as herself. – She says she has generally had notice before ye death of either of her children which has been by 3 raps – This is meer whim to some people – But I believe it to be fact.

This aftern^o st^d at home & c ‘till 5 then to off & ½ p 6 visited Sis^r Hop^s & at 8 home with AD.

Wednesday, Aug^t 18, 1762

Rose p 6. – Mr Badderley came to breakfast

at 9 up in town visited Sis^r Hop^s who is better. – Then to off & staid ‘till 2 read some part of Beaumont on the operation of spirits & c wherein are some extra^y acco^{ts}.⁴⁸⁵

Mr Badderley dined with us today.

At 4 called at Mr Beddomes.⁴⁸⁶ His partner has a bad eye & intends being electrised.

Afterw^{ds} down to Gibb⁴⁸⁷. – At 5 home ret^d to off & st^d ‘till 7 then home. It seems that Rob^t Davis & his wife came to Bristol yesterday & are now in Lamb Street.⁴⁸⁸

Thursday, [August] 19, [1762]

Rose ½ p 5 & at 6 went to Mrs Olivers & at 7 sat out on Hobby for Littleton & ret^d home at 11. I went this morn^g because Mr Brown rides out this aftern^o & will not retⁿ with our mare ‘till tomor^o morn^g.

Went to off at 12 & st^d ‘till 2. After dinner went up to Bro^r Jn^o at Clifton who has been much indisposed with a cold a few days since.

Near 5 went to Sis^r Hop^s & drank tea then w^h AD & Mo^r Davis.

p 6 at off & at 7 home.

Friday, Aug^t 20, 1762

Rose near 7 – at 8 went to the Lamb & call^d at Mother Davis’s – p 9 at off: & staid there & c ‘till 2 – After din^r ret^d to off: at 5 home. – Ret^d again near 6 – Afterw^{ds} went to Mr Brown who sent to me about our mare – p 7 visited Rachel & home near 9. – My poor mind is covered with clouds & darkness. May I rely upon the Lord.

Saturday, Aug^t 21, 1762.

I have gone thro’ this day with much bodily weakness – Went out in ye morn^g near 9 & staid at off & c ‘till 2. – Mrs Stroud⁴⁸⁹ bro^t money to pay for her pow^r & my poor spirits were much fatigued with her talk.

⁴⁸⁴ See 27/3.

⁴⁸⁵ See 3/8.

⁴⁸⁶ Probably Joseph Beddome, who ran a turpentine warehouse in Small Street with John Cross (see 16/6) from c. 1769 and died in 1794.

⁴⁸⁷ On the Back.

⁴⁸⁸ This is Ann Dyer’s* brother Robert* from London, staying with his parents. See 26/8 and 29/8.

⁴⁸⁹ In 1767 Captain Walter Stroud’s widow was tried for debts owing to the gunpowder company.

I evidently feel two contrary wills within me. One draw^s one way, the 2nd another way which I evidently experienced this morn^s – when I was most determin^d on going to Mr Sy^s ‘twas strongly against one will to decline it. But ye other will suggested great reasons to the contrary which with some concur^s circumstances prevented my going. ‘tho the Lord knows I shou^d hardly have declined it had not a restraint chiefly proceeded from these concur^s circumstances, tho ‘twas certainly best that I did not go – Unless the Lord keep me I cannot keep myself.

This aftern^o went to off: & st^d ‘till ½ p 6 – then visited parents & home near 8.

Sunday, Aug^t 22, 1762

Went to St Werburgh’s both forenoon & aftern^o & spent even^s at home. Made some pretty large extracts from Mr Laws writings.

Monday, [August] 23, [1762]

Rose this morn^s in much better health than when I went to bed – Praised be the Lord for his mercies. At ½ p 5 mounted Hobby & rode to magazine & staid there for breakfast. Ret^d home ½ p 9 – The Lord pardon my sins.

At p 10 went to off & staid ‘till 2. RD has been engaged all day at Tow^r Harratz in tak^s in brimstone.

After din^r went to Seyers⁴⁹⁰ at Bedmins^r then up in town – saw Mr Hart & Cap^t Cheyne at Palmer’s shop – at 5 step^d home. Ret^d to off & near 7 went up to Mr Symes’s. from thence to Rach^l and at 8 home.

Tuesday, Aug^t 24, 1762

This morn^s p 7 went to Brewho & staid ‘till p 9 afterw^{ds} call^d on Mr Brown at his lodg^{ss} then to off: also step^d to Guildhall & staid ½ hour hear^s some part of a tryal⁴⁹¹ – afterw^{ds} at Farrell⁴⁹² – Bonbonous & ret^d & staid at off & c ‘till 2 – p 3 up in town – ret^d home at 5 – then to off & afterw^{ds} up at Mr Symes’s & went with him to Clifton & call^d on Bro^r Jn^o – p 8 ret^d home w^h Sukey Tucker.

May ye Lord pardon my offences of this day.

I was this even^s in some pain on acco^t of our d^r fr^d Mrs S may the Lord be her defence.

This ev^s ye Comp^a was to have met, but Mr Baugh and Mr Wansey agreed on Change to postpone it.

⁴⁹⁰ Not identified; see 17/9 for Dyer ordering bran and rye there, perhaps for his horse.

⁴⁹¹ Quarter-sessions and assizes were held here in Broad Street, and it had a large and lofty hall with galleries for spectators in 1793–4.

⁴⁹² Joseph Farrell from Virginia was the leading tobacco importer to Bristol from the late 1720s, and was joined as a partner around 1760 by William Jones (master of the Merchant Venturers in 1770, d. 1792); in 1775 they are listed as Virginia merchants at 36 Queen Square.

Wednesday, [August] 25, [1762]

Rose this morn^g between 4 & 5. Went to Room & heard Mr Jn^o Wesley⁴⁹³ – ret^d home & at 8 went up in town. Call'd on Sis^r Hop^s & then to Capt Cheyne's & with him visited Miss Roe who was ill in bed occasion'd by ye disorder of her breast increas^g up her neck⁴⁹⁴ – At 11 went to Cust^o House. staid on Ch^{ge} 'till 2. – After din^r visited Rach^l & drank tea w^h her & heard of our poor friend who was in much distress yester^y & this morn^g but is now deliver^d – May the Lord be her friend & her guide. – Call'd on Mr Allison's this ev^g. – Staid at off 'till p 7 then home.

Thursday, Aug^t 26, 1762

Rose ½ p 5 & ½ p 6 went to Mr Bulls & staid 'till 9 then to off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House and at Hump: Browns concern^g his having ye key of ye pack^s room & we want to fill another ship cargo. But he will not deliv^r up the key until ye pow^r which he fill'd is deliver'd⁴⁹⁵ – My poor spirits were pretty much hurry'd this morn^g.

Mr Wansey sent in hurry wanting 100 half b^{ls} pow^r to be made ready for him by tomor^o which occasion'd my seting out at 2 o'clock for ye magazine – Call'd in my way at Clifton & reced from Bro^r Jn^o Tho^s Watt's of Glos^r note for £5: 10: 10 I enclos'd the same to Mr Niblet under a frank & sent it p[er] this afternoon's post. – Staid at magazine 'till 5 – Call'd at publick house at Shirehampⁿ⁴⁹⁶ & drank tea & arriv'd at office near 7 – Staid 'till 8. Wrote a little note to Rach^l – Lord pardon what I've done amiss this day.

This ev^g my wife saw her bro^r at the Room, & was much affected therewith.⁴⁹⁷

Friday, Aug^t 27, [1762]

Rose this morn^g at 4 & at 5 sat out for Littleton & ret^d home at 9 – at 10 mounted Hobby with AD behind me & rode to Aust Passage⁴⁹⁸ Dined there & also drank tea & staid from ¼ before 2 'till 5. & reach'd home at 8 – Lord make me thankful for the mercies of this day.

We met with an elderly man on horseback when we walked out at the Passage who pretended to be reduced & now in want & shew'd me a petition⁴⁹⁹ & thereby he gain'd 1/.

Saturday, Aug^t 28, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 – p 8 went up in town & left poor AD extremely sick hav^g taken 5 gra^s of ipecacuan^{a500} this morn^g – visited Miss Roe – Afterw^{ds} call'd on Mr Wansey &

⁴⁹³ See 21/3. Wesley arrived in Bristol on the 24th and stayed until Friday 27th when he left for Exeter and on into Cornwall.

⁴⁹⁴ See 2/7 and below until death on 26 October.

⁴⁹⁵ Probably Humphrey Brown an Africa trader and owner of slaving vessels in the late 1750s.

⁴⁹⁶ Close to the Fulligrove magazine (see 5/3).

⁴⁹⁷ See 31/7 and 18/8.

⁴⁹⁸ 11 miles north east of Bristol, with a 2-mile ferry crossing over the Severn.

⁴⁹⁹ An official document signed by parish officials or justices authorising a person to beg for money during his return to his parish.

⁵⁰⁰ Ipecacuanha is the root of a South American shrub, with emetic or purgative properties.

contrary to expectation he inform'd me, that ye 100 half b^{ls} pow^r ship^d per ye Cape Breton⁵⁰¹ are to be placed to ye companys acco^t – I inform'd Mr A^s of it on Change & he agreed it shall be so – St^d on Ch^{ge} 'till 2 – after din^r took walk. At 5 at off & st^d 'till p 7 then visited Rachell & met w^h Mr Hawksworth there – at 9 home may ye Lord have mercy on me as I need.

Sunday, [August] 29, [1762]

I have noth^g material to note this day. Went to St Wrb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o visited Bro^t Rob^t Davis, w^{ch} was the first time of seeing him since his return.

Monday, Aug^t 30, 1762

Rose before 6 – at 8 up in town – Rob^t went to magaz^{ne} this morn^g & ret^d p 9 – went to sundry places on the dunn this morn^g. – Staid on Ch^{ge} & c 'till 2 – p 3 went w^h Horwood⁵⁰² to Mr Adlams to inspect a curious grub – afterw^{ds} call'd on Mr Wansey & then went to Mr Symes's at 5 up in town then home drank tea w^h Mrs Marston – went to off: & c as very angry with poor RD for some of his untowardness. May ye Lord reform both of us – At 7 went to Room & heard Jn^o Nelson⁵⁰³ & in com^g home heard that poor Mrs Morrish in Temple Street who was bro^t to bed some time ago dyed this aftern^o. & Tues^y ye 31st Rachell told me she was inform'd Mrs Morrish departed in the Lord. – Sunday night she altered for death (as 'tis termed) & the nurse proposed calling Mr Morrish. No, says Mrs M: He is now no longer my d^r Mr M: those bands are dissolved & I am the Lords, I resign up both him & my child. & then she burst out in singing very heavenly – This it seems was ye purport of what she then said & at 4 o'clock Monday aftern^o, she dyed.

Tuesday, Aug^t 31, 1762

Rose ½ p 6 & near 8 went without the Gate called at Mr Eatons & also at Mother Davis's – at 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at sundry places on the dunn – call'd at Sis^r Hop^s & st^d on Ch^{ge} 'till 2. – near 4 went to Brewh^o: & exa^d ye month of Aug^t at 5 home then to off: & at 7 visited Rach^l where AD came to me & we ret^d home p 8.

Wednesday, Sep^r 1, 1762

Near 8 up in town: visited parents then call'd on Magniss Faulke & took short walk with him – at 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Bonbon^{s504}

st^d at off & c 'till 2 – at p 4 up in town – p 6 took walk with Mr Eaton p 7 at Helpful Society & at 9 home. – Lord pardon the sins I've this day committed.

⁵⁰¹ See 26/8. A 'Cape Britton' from Larne is recorded arriving in Bristol from New York on 8 June 1763.

⁵⁰² See 30/3.

⁵⁰³ See 15/9. John Nelson (1707–1774) was a leading Methodist itinerant preacher, who published an autobiography, *The Case of John Nelson*, in 1744; a fifth edition was published by William Pine* in Bristol in 1761. See *ODNB* entry.

⁵⁰⁴ Bonbonus*.

Thursday, Sep^r 2, 1762

Rose before 6. My poor father call'd this morn^s & inform'd me that Miss Hawkswell was dying with whom mother sat up all night.

Call'd at Mr Symes's near 9. afterw^{ds} visited Bro^r Jn^o – p 10 at off & st^d 'till 2 – p 4 call'd at Mr Penny's: also at Rachells & drank tea there with Mrs Jones⁵⁰⁵ – p 6 at off & near 7 went up to AD at Mr Symes's & staid 'till 10.

This day Mr Searle came up to office & afterw^{ds} Mr Meyler sen^r com^s also to request me go to Mr Berjew (Searles landlord)⁵⁰⁶ & desire him to take 10 gui^s for ye present & he shall have ... more in a m^o because it seems Mr B: presses Mr S: for the rent w^{ch} is due being 2 years ... – accordingly I went to Mr B's house after din^r but he was out. I also call'd on Mrs Searle & told her my sentiments, which is that 'tis better to let the landlord have all ... the household goods to endeavour to compound with the rest of the creditors. But poor creature she is in great distress about it & can't consent.

Friday, Sep^r 3, 1762

This morn^s ½ p 6 sat out for Littleton & ret^d p 11 then to off & staid 'till 2. – near 4 went to Mr Meyler sen^r & told him my sentiments concerning poor Searle, & Mr Mey^r thinks it will be best to let ye landlord take ye househ^d goods provided an offer of 5/ in ye £ can be made to the other creditors, & therefore he desired me to go to Searles & get of his wife ye 10 gui^s w^{ch} was propos^d to be paid Mr Berjew (w^{ch} sum was tendered him by Mr Searle but refused) & keep in my hands & to get Searle's dra^t on Mr Lloy.. ye commiss^g⁵⁰⁷ for between 5 & £6 – ye sum due from him in order to make an offer of the same to his creditors. – Accordingly ye poor womⁿ p^d me ye money & I went again to Mr Meyler & offer'd ye money to him, but he choose that I shou'd keep it. – & likewise shew'd him inventory of ye small stock of timber on hand amount^s to about £9: 5 – besides about 300 staves £2: 8 – w^{ch} Mr M: designs to send for, because they are his own, sent to Searles for hemp, – but the other timber he will not meddle with. – Perhaps I am involving myself in trouble in this affair but may I act from a real principle of doing good to my poor fellow creatures! & may I receive wisdom from God to enable me to act rightly amen amen!

Staid at Mr Meylers 'till near 8 then home. This morn^s ye country looked beautiful & ye fields w^{ch} 3 weeks or a month ago were dry & barren & ye grass almost scorched up & withered away are now covered with great plenty of grass, & the blue & yellow flowers spring up, just as in spring of the year & in many places daisies are to be seen.

Saturday, Sep^r 4, 1762

Rose p 6 – & p 8 up in town – staid at off: & c 'till 2 – p 4 at off: & p 6 visited Bro^r Jn^o & afterw^{ds} called on Miss Roe who is in much pain – the groans of ye afflicted affect my mind. May I profit by it. When I came home at 8 Searles wife had sent to me for a guinea. I went to their house & let ES: have 21/.

⁵⁰⁵ Not identified.

⁵⁰⁶ Thomas Berjew (d. 1782) was an apothecary in High Street, with a monument in St Thomas Church (Searle lived in St Thomas parish).

⁵⁰⁷ Not identified, but probably someone involved in a commission of bankruptcy procedure (see 31/1).

Sunday, [September] 5. [1762]

Rose p 6. Mr Coates's man came this morn^g to be electrised for weakness of nerves & shaking of his hands.

Went this morn^g to College & sacra^t & aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} afterw^{ds} at Sis^r Hop^s & then to Rachells & home ½ p 6. – Miss Cox spent the ev^g with us.

This ev^g Mr Searle bro^t me a list of his debts & credits.

Monday, Sep^r 6, 1762

Rose at 5. This morn^g Mr Searle came again & left the list of his debts & credits with me. Said he shoud go out of the way until his landlord had taken to the goods. –

p 8 went up in town. saw an odd advertisement of Mr Hen^y Allens stuck up against ye Coffee House⁵⁰⁸ – call'd p 9 at Mr Symes's – p 10 at off & std there 'till 2. – Mr Meyler came up to me & spoke about Searle & intimated that he & his wife must take care of themselves so that he seems to flinch from what he had signified before – Lord enable me to trust & depend on thee my only true friend.

This aftern^o went up to Clifton & with Bro^r Jn^o visited poor Mr Peglar⁵⁰⁹ who is a shock^g spectacle, hav^g a cancer in his leg w^{ch} has spread from ye middle down to the foot & up to his knee & a thick fungous seems to cover the whole. He is about 50 & ever since 11 y^{rs} of age he has had an ulcer in that leg occasion'd first by an hurt reced from a plow share as he was at work in driving the plough – & for about 8 or 9 years since ye cancer has been encreas^g for w^{ch} he can get no relief & now he has only to rely on ye efficacy of hemlock w^{ch} he intends tak^g as soon as possible & desired me to write to Lond^o for 2 oz of the extract.⁵¹⁰

Drank tea at Bro^{rs} & p 6 at off at 7 home. Call'd on Mrs Searle & by her request went to Mr Berjews but he not being at home I acquainted his young man that E:S: had left his family & that the goods was all that was left to pay ye rent.

Tuesday, Sep^r 7, 1762

This morn^g it seems Mr Berjew sent an officer to take account of Searles goods. & Mrs Searle & her children remove to Mr Nash's.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁸ Probably the Exchange Coffeehouse, next to Dyer's office (see 1/1).

⁵⁰⁹ See epitomised diary entry for more on him. This may be the John Pedler, 'vondor of milk, Clifton' whose will was proved on 23 May 1803, although by Dyer's estimation that he was about 50 in 1762 and suffering with acute cancer, he would have done well to reach 90 years of age, so it may be a descendent. When John Dyer died in January 1764, 'Mrs Peglar' sat up with the corpse. There are several references to a Mr Pedlar, Pedler or Pedder renting property in Clifton in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1775 '– Pedder esquire' is listed at 'lower path of Clifton Hill' (though esquire seems an unlikely designation for a milk vendor), and a Thomas Pedlar is recorded as building Beaufort House in Clifton in 1767. See 11/9, 20/9, 18/10.

⁵¹⁰ Hemlock or *conium maculatum* is a powerful sedative, which Dyer begins to use widely for the rest of 1762. Its use was highly fashionable (and controversial) at this time – see 8/9.

⁵¹¹ Stephen Nash, a draper and merchant, was governor of St Peter's Hospital (the corporation of the poor) 1762–3, and died worth £40,000 before 1785, probably before 1775; another Stephen Nash, perhaps his son, was knighted during his year as sheriff 1785–6 and died in 1792. See 14/9.

Rose p 6 & p 8 up in town – staid at off &c ‘till 2 then home. – after din^r went by Mrs Searles request to Mr Meyler & acquainted him of the above & he signified that he sho^d buy them a few necessaries as first proposed.

At 5 went to St Werburghs where Mr Browns lecture sermon is now remov^d on acco^t of St Nich^s being shut up & this is the first time.⁵¹² – This ev^g ye Committee met consist^g of Mr Baugh, Mr Miller Mr Wansey. – St^d at off ‘till p 7 then at Rach^l & home p 8.

Wednesday, Sep^r 8, 1762

Rose p 6 & at 7 mounted Hobby wth AD behind me. Rode beyond Brislington & ret^d home p 9. Then went up in town. afterw^{ds} at Cust^o H^o Farrells & co⁵¹³ – Visited Miss Roe – staid at off &c ‘till near 2. Mrs Hop^s din^d with us⁵¹⁴ – At 4 at off at 5 call^d on Mr & Mrs Brown who’s family came from Harptree last Thurs^y & have taken part of Mrs English’s house on Stoney Hill – St^d there ‘till 6 then at off & home at 8. Finished read^g Dr Storck on hemlock⁵¹⁵ – May my studys be directed for ye glory of God. May hypocrisy & deceit be crushed in my heart.

Thursday, [September] 9^h, [1762]

I am somehow or other under pain of mind on acco^t of our dr fr^d Mrs S: lest the Devil shou^d undermine & overset her poor soul. May ye Lord counteract & oppose all the stratagems of that enemy of souls.

This morn^g arose about 6 & set about preparing extract of hemlock for Miss Roe. she hav^g sent me some of the plant.

p 9 up in town – afterw^{ds} at Mr Millers – & Cust^o House & Farell & Jones⁵¹⁶ – staid at off &c ‘till 2 then home & staid all ye aftern^o.

Mr Faulke & his wife drank tea with us.

p 7 went to off: call^d on Miss Roe & visited Rachell & home at 9.

This morn^g it seems Polly Giles arrived at home from Swanzey.⁵¹⁷ This morn^g Mrs Shaw⁵¹⁸ came to ask my advice & to be electrised. May the Lord keep me amidst multitude of snares.

⁵¹² The Tuesday afternoon lecture James Brown* preached at St Nicholas had to move because of the rebuilding of the church as part of the Bridge works. *FFBJ* 28 August has an advertisement for the contract for taking down and rebuilding the church and the last service was 29 August. The rebuilding took until 1769.

⁵¹³ See 24/8.

⁵¹⁴ Here and on 11/9, 18/10 and 5/11 this refers to the wife of William Hopkins*, not Ann Dyer’s sister Hannah*.

⁵¹⁵ *An Essay on the Medicinal Nature of Hemlock* by Anton Storck (1731–1803), a Viennese physician, was first published in English in 1760, followed by *A Second Essay* (1761) and *A Necessary Supplement to the Former Essays* (1762); all three were reprinted in one volume at Edinburgh in 1762, and an abridged *An Essay on Hemlock* was also printed in Aberdeen in 1762.

⁵¹⁶ See 24/8.

⁵¹⁷ Durbin (p.49) reports that she came back on the predicted date (see 14/8) although ‘no person wrote to her to come’.

⁵¹⁸ Not identified.

Friday, Sep^r 10, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & at 7 sat out for Litⁿ ret^d home near 12 then to off & st^d 'till 2 – staid at home 'till near 6 & was employ'd in prepar^s & mak^g up pills of hemlo: afterw^{ds} at off: & then visited Mrs Shaw & prescribed a small q^{ty} of Jesuits Bark⁵¹⁹ to be chew^d ev^y time ye cough is troublesome. & to mix 1oz cream tartar⁵²⁰ & 1 oz honey & take tea spoonful 2 or 3 times per day to remove costiveness⁵²¹. Then call'd on Miss Roe & left 12 pills extract. to take 1 of 'em m^s and ev^s & drink decoction⁵²² of elderflower afterw^{ds}

then went to Mr Symes's & home near 10.

Saturday, [September] 11, [1762]

Rose before 6. at 8 up in town went to Lamb & saw Polley Giles & her invisible attendant stood at her elbow w^{ch} was manifested by twice jerking her elbow when drink^s tea while I was present. Nancey the servant maid told me that this morn^s while she & the children were in bed the chamber pot was truckled from one side of the room to t'other & at last conveyed upon the bed & danced upon their feet as they lay in bed then 'on the floor again without any visible power to perform it. But ye pot was not broke. last night they told me the children were pinch'd & bit as usual.⁵²³

Call'd on Mr Eaton at 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Mr Deanes & at Cust^o House & p 10 went up to Clifton & with Bro^r Jn^o visited poor Pedler who lyes in a miserable condition & his leg smells very offensive.⁵²⁴ – Ret^d to off at 12 st^d 'till 2 then home. After din^r took walk – p 5 at off and p 6 went to parents. also at Mrs Hopkins & visited Rachell & Miss Roe. Ye latter says she has been sick today probably in consequence of ye pills w^{ch} she took vizt 1 last night & 1 this morn^s.

Sunday, Sep^r 12, 1762

Rose before 6 took walk & call'd on Father Davis & spent ½ hour with Bro^r Davis his mother & wife & both children went in a boat for Chepstow⁵²⁵ last Wednes^y even^s – went this morn^s at Werburghs & had ye pleasure of speak^s to our friend Mrs Scuda-re.

Aftern^o also at same church. In ev^s visited Miss Roe.

Monday, Sep^r 13, 1762

Rose before 6. Mounted Hobby & rode to magaz^{ne} met Mr Scudam^{re} on ye road – breakfas^d at George's who together with his wife has been ill in a fever 6 or 8 days since. – Ret^d home p 9. Went to off: p 10 afterw^{ds} at Cust^o H^o: & st^d at off: & c 'till 2. After din^r went to Mrs Ramzor – ret^d home & st^d 'till p 6. Polley and Betsy Giles

⁵¹⁹ See 22/5.

⁵²⁰ Crystals from the acid potassium nitrate, which form a crust in winecasks.

⁵²¹ Constipation.

⁵²² See 22/5.

⁵²³ Durbin (p. 49) reports bites and pins on 10 September but nothing on the 11th.

⁵²⁴ See 6/9.

⁵²⁵ See 15/9.

drank tea with us.⁵²⁶ – At 7 visited Miss Roe & then call'd at Mrs Allison's where was Rachell who arriv'd there this aftern^o. p 8 home.

Tuesday, Sep^r 14, 1762

This day has been almost wholly employ'd on acco^t of poor Mr Searle.

Rose about 6. wrote a letter for him to send to his friends in the west – & near 9 went to Mr Meylers who desired me to attend the sale this day & buy some goods for ES: – at 10 to ye said sale. – Miss Sukey Nash⁵²⁷ was also there by Mrs Searles desire & most things sold very dear – I staid 'till ½ p 1 then to off: Mr Wallis came to off: & at 2 home – at 3 went again to ye sale & tarryed there 'till p 6 then to off & p 7 was glad to go home & compose myself. Mr Elliot was actioneer⁵²⁸ & Mr Bates ye mayors officer⁵²⁹ was also there.

This morn^g Mr Badderly breakfas^d with us.

Wednesday, Sep^r 15, 1762

This morn^g p 8 call'd on Mrs Searle & then to Mr Meyler & shew'd him acco^t of what I had bo^t for ESearle at the sale amount^g to 15:15:5 w^{ch} a little surpriz'd him. He paid me 10:10:0 on acco^t of the same

afterw^{ds} met with Mr Penny who wanted some empty h^{ds}⁵³⁰ to fill with earth for holliday. I went with him to Tow^r Harratz & shew'd ye brimstone h^{ds} & he propos'd to take 8 of 'em at 5/6. – call'd at ESearles & p 11 at off & staid there & c 'till near 2 – then home. Father & Sucky Tucker din^d with us – after din^r called at ESearles – then to off & at 5 home & drank tea with Jn^o Nelson⁵³¹ Mr & Mrs Green – at 6 went to Mr Eatons & to ye Lamb⁵³² & call'd on Mother Davis who ret^d home from Chepstow yester^y aftern^o call'd at Mrs Allison's & home at 8.

⁵²⁶ Durbin (pp. 49–50) reports questions asked the children in the morning, and that in the evening there were 'several bites and cuts as usual' and 'Molly was caught by the throat, and was senseless half an hour'. He also reports further questions on the 14th about who would visit them which 'prove its foreknowledge of some events'.

⁵²⁷ See 7/9.

⁵²⁸ Robert Elliott was auctioneer at the sale of Knox's* goods in February 1762.

⁵²⁹ Thomas Bate mayors officer lived at 20 Charles St in 1775.

⁵³⁰ See 28/7 for hogsheds.

⁵³¹ See 30/8.

⁵³² Durbin (pp. 50–2) gives a full account of events that occurred after Dyer had left involving pins, objects thrown and questioning about how long the attacks would continue. Durbin asked 'If any more money was given by the man for the witch to continue longer than the year' (yes) and 'how many guineas' more (ten, making twenty in all). It also confirmed that it was 'the power of God' that required it to confess and that 'many good angels in the room' 'saved the children from more hurt'. But it also threatened to kill Dobby within three days if she stayed in the house, and strangled her till 'she turned red and blackish in the face' and lay senseless as if asleep for 'three parts of an hour' not even responding to Durbin's sister's 'fresh bottle of salts'. On the 16th (pp. 52–3) Durbin reports even more disturbances, with objects thrown and suddenly disappearing, culminating in Dobby's disappearance and discovery in 'an old garret, three storey high, where they found her under a bed speechless', although there was a bolted door on the way. The effect of all this was that 'they were forced to send them to Kingswood as soon as possible' and they left on the 16th, not returning until 15 November 'the year being finished that they had been tormented'.

Thursday, Sep^r 16, 1762

Rose this m^g p 6. Electrised Mrs Day – & near 9 up in town: visited Miss Roe – afterw^{ds} at Palmers then to off: & twice at Pitmⁿ Scand Fields but he was not up – St^d on Ch^{ge} &c ‘till 2. p 3 call’d on Mr Gards⁵³³ afterw^{ds} spoke with Mr Adams⁵³⁴ at ye Bell⁵³⁵ & told him of Mrs Hipsleys⁵³⁶ put^g up ye Meer Stones at Mill no 4.⁵³⁷ – Near 4 at Brewho: & at 5 went to Mrs Morrish’s & drank tea there – & at 6 at off & st^d ‘till near 8 then home. May ye Lord have mercy on me.

Friday, [September] 17, [1762]

Rose p 6. Mounted horse at 7 & rode to magazine: staid there ‘till p 9 gave Mr George about 9 gra^s of James’s pow^r.⁵³⁸ – Cross’d water at Pill⁵³⁹ & then to Littleton – Baited at ye Fox & Crane⁵⁴⁰ – call’d at Seyers at Bedmins^r & p^d for brann – & beg’d him to procure me a bush^l of rye.⁵⁴¹ – p 3 home at off at 4 & afterw^{ds} went by myself as far as Lord Barclay’s wood⁵⁴² in pursuit of Mr Penny & Mr Eaton but cou’d not overtake them ret^d abt 6 & went to mothers & drank tea from thence to Mrs Allison’s & st^d ‘till 8 then home.

Saturday, Sep^r 18, 1762

Arose before 6. The waggon came – staid at home ‘till p 8 then up in town visited Miss Roe – then to Palmers & to off: & staid there &c ‘till 2. Went to Cust^o H^o this morn^g & call’d at Pitⁿ Fields but he was not up.

Staid at home all ye aftern^o ‘till p 5 then at off & at 6 went to Mr Symes’s & p 8 home.

Sunday, [September] 19, [1762]

Went to St Werburghs morn^g & afternoon.

Monday, Sep^r 20, 1762

Rose this morn^g p 6. & near 9 up in town – visited Miss Roe – then to off: & staid there &c ‘till 2. Mr Pitn Scand^l Field came to off; & settled acco^l with Miss ... He appeared

⁵³³ Possibly the Gaad of Gaad and Keate, malsters and brewers of 19 Temple Street in 1775.

⁵³⁴ Not identified.

⁵³⁵ Bristol had numerous Bell public houses, including a Bell at 12 Avon Street in 1775, close to where Dyer lived, and the Bell in St Thomas Street (see 22/2).

⁵³⁶ See 23/7.

⁵³⁷ A local dialect term for boundary stones. There was a further powder mill south of Littleton, now under Chew reservoir, which may be meant here.

⁵³⁸ To treat his fever (see 13/9): see 17/5.

⁵³⁹ A village five miles from Bristol, chiefly inhabited by the river pilots.

⁵⁴⁰ Not identified, since given Dyer’s route it can hardly be the one in Eugene Street.

⁵⁴¹ See 23/8.

⁵⁴² Stoke Park or House, Stapleton, rebuilt c. 1760 by Norborne Berkeley, who became Lord Lieutenant of Bristol in 1762 and Baron Botetourt in 1764; his sister was Duchess of Beaufort. In 1793/4 its ‘woods, temples and monuments’ were ‘justly stiled a terrestrial paradise’ in summer.

much displeased about the sugars. – p 3 ret^d to off: afterwards went to Clifton & carried 2 boxes hemlock pills & some of ye herb reced this day from Lond^o for Pedler & met with such reception as I did not expect.⁵⁴³

May I be taught wisdom! & enabled to act properly in everything.

Call'd at Mr Symes's & was inform'd of Mrs Symes being taken ill last night – but she is not yet bad enough – afterw^{ds} went to Mr Eatons & took short walk with him – afterw^{ds} call'd at Mrs Allisons on Rach^l & then home.

Poor Evans ye carpenter⁵⁴⁴ has stop'd paym^t ever since Friday last.

Tuesday, Sep^r 21, 1762

Rose about 6. – p 8 up in town call'd at Mr Hawksworths but he was gone out – then to off: & p 10 went to Quakers meet^s & heard an excellent discourse from a young woman – ret^d to off near 1 & st^d 'till 2. – after din^r call'd on Hall – then to off & at 4 at St Werb^{ghs} & heard Mr Brown – ret^d to off & st^d 'till p 7 The Committee met this ev^s consist^s of Mr Ames, Miller, Deane & Worgan.

Call'd at Mr Brittons & then home.

This even^s about 9 o'clock Mrs Symes was brought to bed of a son and Decem^r ye 25th in the morn^s he dyed [phrase from 'and' added afterwards in Dyer's hand]

Wednesday, Sep^r 22, 1762

Rose near 7 – & tow^{ds} 9 went up to Mr Symes's – afterw^{ds} visited Miss Roe & Sis^r Hop^s – staid at off & c 'till 2 at 3 call'd on Hall – afterw^{ds} call'd at Mr Hawksworths but he was out. – Then to Mother Davis & staid 'till 5 then to off & st^d 'till p 7 – then call'd on Mr Jos Orlidge⁵⁴⁵ & reced two guineas for a draught sent to Mr Searle from Mr Menich of Wellington – I paid Mrs Searle the 2 gui^s at din^r time when she call'd 'on me.

Thursday, [September] 23^d, [1762]

Rose p 6 & p 9 at off: & staid there & c 'till 2 – this aftern^o we were to have visited Mr & Mrs Day but bad weather prevented us – staid at home 'till p 6 then at off. Mr Meyler call'd & desired me to go to Searles creditors & propose 5/ per £ – p 7 home.

Friday, Sep^r 24, 1762

Rose at 6 & p 7 mounted Hobby & was heartily vexed 'on being informed that Mr Roquet who rode to Harptree to bury a corps for Mr Brown last Tuesd^y had rode our mare excessive hard & went & return'd in little odds of 3 hours.

I went to Littleton & from thence cross'd over Leigh Down⁵⁴⁶ & arriv^d at magazine p 11 from thence p 12 & arriv^d in town p 1 – then to off & std 'till 2. Met on ye road

⁵⁴³ See 6/9.

⁵⁴⁴ See 8/2.

⁵⁴⁵ Joseph Orlidge was a cooper and wine merchant in Small Street, whose will is proved in 1783; in 1775 Orlidge and sons wine merchants were at 18 Small Street.

⁵⁴⁶ See 5/2.

Mr Worgⁿ & our d^r fr^d Mrs S: in a postchaise. – This aftern^o at 5 went to Mr Days & with AD drank tea there in comp^a with Mrs Brown & Mrs Barry⁵⁴⁷ & at 7 went from thence – call'd at Mr Allison's & home p 8.

This day our Sam met with an unlucky blow for one of his school fellows very near his eye. But very providentially escaped his eye.

Saturday, Sep^r 25, 1762

Rose p 5 – being call'd up by the waggoner – p 8 went up in town visited Miss Roe & Sis^r Hop^s also visited Mrs Giles who inform'd me both ye children have been at a house in Kingswood⁵⁴⁸ a week since & they have been very quiet ever since but she is much distressed poor woman about her affairs w^{ch} yet remain unsettled. – ret^d to off p 10 & staid there &c 'till 2 – after din^r call'd on Mrs Searle – & at 3 went to Mr Pennys & with him & Mr Eaton took walk to Mr Barclay's park⁵⁴⁹ & near 6 ret^d to Mr Penny's & drank tea with him – then to office & transcribed a form to be signed by Searle's creditors if they agreed to take 5/ per £ – & call'd on Mr Meyler & left it with him.

Sunday, Sep^r 26, 1762

Rose ab^t 7. Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o.

Monday, [September] 27, [1762]

This has been a day of great motion with me & I have been brought thro' it, tho' I sat out in much weakness this morn^g. – Rose ab^t 6 & p 8 visit^d Sis^r Hop^s Miss Roe & Mother Day^s – then call'd on Mrs Giles & left 12 hemlo: pills of 1 gr: each for her youngest dau^r 3 yrs of age⁵⁵⁰ who has a deep ulcer in her neck of ye scrophulous kind⁵⁵¹ – to take 1 for 2 nights succeed^s & then 1 morn^g & ev^s until the whole are expended – near 10 at off: & then went by Mr Meylers request to divers of Searles creditors & propos^d buying 'em 5/ per £ – but met with a repulse from Devonsheir & Reeve⁵⁵² who say they will not take it – the rest consented.

Ret^d to off p 11 & st^d 'till 2. – After din^r went to Brewho: p 5 home then to off & st^d 'till near 7 then to Room & home p 8.

Tuesday, Sep^r 28, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 – & p 8 call'd on mother then up to Clifton & visited Bro^r Jn^o call'd at Mr Symes's in my return – ½ p 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o H^o st^d on Ch^{ge} &c 'till 2 – after din^r call'd at Mr Meylers ab^t poor Searles affairs – & then went to 2 or 3 of his little creditors & met with a repulse w^{ch} has fatigued my poor spirits – this ev^g call'd

⁵⁴⁷ Probably the wife of the Rev William Barry – see 23/1.

⁵⁴⁸ See 15/9 footnote.

⁵⁴⁹ See 17/9.

⁵⁵⁰ See 12/7 footnote.

⁵⁵¹ Scrophula is the enlargement of the lymphatic glands around the neck – also known as the king's evil.

⁵⁵² See 10/6.

on Rach^l at Mr Davis's – afterw^{ds} at ye Room & then at Mr Meylers & inform'd him of ye ill success & he advises poor Searle to go to sea – call'd on Searle who is come to his wife this ev^g – after din^r went with Mrs Searle & look'd at a shop in Temple Street w^{ch} probably may have taken wind & prov^d to Searle's prejudice.

Wednesday, Sep^r 29, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 call'd on poor Searle – call'd at Mrs Oliver: also at Coates Mr Hawkeswth Mr Days & ret^d home – at 9 up in town p 11 went with Mr Faulkes to Rowand & squabbled with him about our acco^t – p 12 went home & dined & p 1 sat out for Littleton & took acco^t stock – Ret^d home p 6. Went to off: visited Miss Roe – Sukey Cox & home p 8. Poor Mrs Searle came with her complaints & their pretended friend appears extremely fickle – oh Lord help the distressed – preserve & help me accord^e to my needs.

Thursday, Sep^r 30, 1762

In much heaviness all this day! May the Lord help me to believe & trust in him.

Rose at 6 took short walk – at 9 up in town – p 10 at Cust^o House – & gave bond for powder p[er] ye Garland⁵⁵³ – & join'd with Mr Coram⁵⁵⁴ in 2 or 3 bonds for him for goods p[er] ye Charlotte to St Kitts.⁵⁵⁵

Staid at off & c 'till 2 – paid Mr Ames £6:11 – for a debenture⁵⁵⁶ on ye Harford I reced for him 2 days ago but did not take any receipt of him – p 3 up in town – at 5 call'd on Sis^r Hop^s then visited Sukey Cox & drank tea there w^h KD⁵⁵⁷ & advised a vomit of 25 gras ipeca.⁵⁵⁸ steep'd 10 minutes in a cup of tea & drink ye clear liq^r & advised to take 1 oz bark & boil in 1 ½ pint water & make strong decoctⁿ & then add ½ pint wine & take a glass thereof every 3 hours.

p 6 at off & at 7 at Room.

Call'd on Searle who has been today with his daughter to visit a gentlewomⁿ a relation at Bath, who has made 'em a present.

Friday, Octo^r 1, [1762].

Last night we were awaked between 12 & 1 by ye most violent thunder & lightning w^{ch} I have heard a long while since – But as pretty much rain fell with it, hope there is not much damage done. This morn^g near 9 sat out for Fulligrove magazine & staid there all day 'till ab^t 5 & took acco^t of 3 rooms but cou'd not compleat the whole – On my arrival at ye office I heard an acco^t come of ye Havannah being taken & great rejoicings are mak^g this even^g on ye occasion.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵³ Ship not identified.

⁵⁵⁴ Not identified.

⁵⁵⁵ Ship not identified.

⁵⁵⁶ See 8/6.

⁵⁵⁷ Probably Kitty Durbin* rather than his niece Kitty Davis, then only five, although she might have been staying with her aunt.

⁵⁵⁸ An abbreviation of ipecacuana (see 28/8).

⁵⁵⁹ *FFBJ* 11 and 18 September had carried details of the siege of Havannah, then 2 October reported that the M.P. Nugent* had paid for bonfires and ale to be distributed in various parts of city and that the bells were ringing yesterday for the great and happy event of the surrender of 'the Havannah' fortress. The 9 October issue has a poem on 'the reduction of the Havannah' and the articles of surrender.

Saturday, Octo^r 2, 1762

Rose p 6 – p 8 visited Miss Roe Miss Cox – & then to Mrs Giles's & left 12 hemlock pills of 2 gra^s each for her child, to take 1 for 2 ev^{gs} & if finds no inconveniency to take afterwards 1 morn^s & ev^s & shou'd the child at any time be sick after ye pills to take a little white wine & water. Call'd on Mr Eaton – then to off: & st^d there & c 'till 2. After din^r went to Palmer's then to off: at 5 home ret'd to off & st^d 'till ½ p 7 then home –

Sunday, [October] 3^d, [1762]

Rose p 7 ... went in ye rain up to mothers & in my return overtook our fr^d Mrs S & walk'd to church with her – we had a goodly company there & comfortable opportunity at ye sacra^t – at St Werb^{ghs} – went there both foren^o & aftern^o & afterw^{ds} visited Rach^l then home & staid all the even^g.

Monday, 4 Octo^r, 1762

Rose ab^t 6 & near 7 sat out for magazine & on my arrival there met with a tryal which immediately overcame my little patience & I fell into passion & fretfulness, w^{ch} has disorder'd my poor mind ever since. May ye Lord have mercy on me as I need! & may I learn wisdom by experience! I finished taking acco^t of stock but was so fretful & extremely hasty that my eyes were often blind to the thing w^{ch} might otherwise have been easily seen! Oh may the Lord convert my soul.

Staid & din'd with B Ramzor.

& arriv'd home p 3 when I found 2 or 3 women waiting with a child (a girl) of 5 year age to be electrified the child's father lives in Haverfordwest & she has been bro^t from thence to our Infirmary, but cant get any relief – she cannot speak & they suspect she is deaf & she seems to have a weakness in all her nerves & has also all ye symptoms of an idiot. However I electrised her but doubt without any effect. This ev^g ½ p 6 went to Room & heard letters read by Mr Jn^o Westley⁵⁶⁰ w^{ch} continued 'till near 9 o'clock.

After w^{ch} my poor mind was better composed than before.

Tuesday, Octo^r 5, 1762

Rose ab^t ½ p 6 at 8 went up in town to off: & st^d 'till 9 then to Mrs Purnells & went to Mrs Purnell & with her visited a poor woman in Ellbroad Street who seems deeply possess'd with a melancholly spirit. I electrised her with my small machine, but I doubt without effect. Saw Mr Hawksworth in our way who generously gave 10/6 for a poor wom^a whom Mrs Purnell begged for.

At 10 ret^d to off: & st^d there & c 'till 2. Met with a small tryall w^{ch} am confident I had an intimation of in a dream last night w^{ch} is about settling my acco^t with Rowand. He has given a dra^t to me to Mr Faulke for more than I owe him.

⁵⁶⁰ John Wesley arrived back in Bristol from the west country on 2 October and 'in the two following weeks I visited as many as I could of the societies in the country, as well as regulated those of Bristol and Kingswood.' He finally left Bristol only on 29 October.

This aftern^o ret^d to off p 4 & st^d 'till 8. I have been affected with read^g the History of Katherine Evans & Sarah Cheevers – 2 quakers who were 4 years confin^d in ye inquisition prison at Malta.⁵⁶¹ The Committee met this ev^g consist of Mr Ames Mr Miller & Mr Elton.

Wednesday, Octo^r 6, 1762

This morn^g p 7 went to Brewho: & staid till ½ p 8 – call'd at mothers – at Mr Pennys – Mo^r Davis^s: Mr Eatons & on Mrs Giles – also on ye poor woman in Ellbroad Street. near 10 at off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House – st^d on Ch^{ge} & c 'till 2 at p 3 at Palmers & met Mr Eaton there by appointm^t. Mr Penny was also to have come – we took walk to Hotwells. call'd on Bro^r Jn^o and ret^d near 6 – then home – call'd p 7 at Miss Castles⁵⁶² – also at Mr Davis's & then to Helpful Soc^y & home p 8.

Thursday, Octo^r 7, 1762

Rose p 6 – electriss^d Miss Hawkswell – p 8 up in town visited Miss Roe – then to off p 10 – afterw^{ds} went to Mr Kings glass ho:⁵⁶³ & to Mr Bishops⁵⁶⁴ & on Ch^{ge} 'till 2 – p 4 up in town. afterw^{ds} at Jones's⁵⁶⁵ & at Nock's⁵⁶⁶ on Searles acco^t. Ret^d to off p 5 & p 6 visited my worthy friend Mr Hawskworth & spent the ev^g there with Mr Dallaway⁵⁶⁷ & p 10 home.

Friday, [October] 8, [1762]

Rose near 7. Call'd on Mrs Searle & also again at din^r time when I found ye shop in Temple Street was taken yester^y by another person.

At 8 set out for Litⁿ ret^d at 12 went to off & st^d 'till 2. Electriss^d a poor crazey wom^a p 3 went to Mr Symes's & was there in comp^a with Mr Price of Chewton 'till 5 then home then to off & st^d 'till 8 & visited poor Miss Roe who is very ill.

Saturday, Octo^r 9, 1762.

Rose near 7. Electriss^d Miss Hawkswell & also Capt Purchase⁵⁶⁸. at 9 up in town. – Call'd at Palmers & near 10 at off: staid there & on Change 'till 2. Had cause for

⁵⁶¹ The original version, *A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings undergone by those Two Faithful Servants of God, Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers* (1663) was reprinted in 1715 as *A Brief History of the Voyage of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, to the Island of Malta*. Given the title he gives, Dyer probably read the latter.

⁵⁶² Not identified.

⁵⁶³ William King, originally an excise officer, opened a glasshouse at St Philips, but he was arrested in 1766 and his glasshouse auctioned off; he died in London in 1777.

⁵⁶⁴ Not identified.

⁵⁶⁵ Not identified.

⁵⁶⁶ Thomas Nock was a blacksmith or ironmonger, listed at 3 Redcliff Street in 1775.

⁵⁶⁷ James Dallaway (1730–1787), an Anglican banker from Stroud in Gloucestershire, was a long-term friend and correspondent of the Quaker A.R. Hawskworth*. His son, the antiquary James Dallaway (1763–1834), was born in Bristol on 20 February 1763, and the family seemed to have lived in Bristol at this period; James lived in Castle Green in 1764.

⁵⁶⁸ In 1775 a Mary Purches widow lived at 53 Lewins Mead.

thankfulness today that I am preserved from much encumbrance with the things of the world. Oh may I see: deeply see the mercy herein! & be content with the station w^{ch} providence allots me.

At p 4 ret^d to off & st^d 'till near 7 then visited Rachell (who return'd from Mr Davis's to her own room yesterday) & spent a comfortable hour there. Lord shew the mercy to me as I need & help me entirely to devote my soul & body to God.

Sunday, Octo^r 10, 1762

Met with a tryal this morn^g May it prove for good!

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o & afterw^{ds} visited Suckey Cox & ½ p 5 home.

Monday, [October] 11, [1762]

May I thank God for bringing me through this day. In ye morn^g visited Miss Roe & Bro^r Jn^o the latter is very ill again & I sent him a dose of James's powder to take this ev^g – at 10 ret^d to off: Cap^t Cheyne call'd on me & gave him a bill £25 for cash – Ramzor call'd & I settled with him & it seems that Searle is gone to his house to work today – Staid at off 'till 2 then home. After din^r at Palmers: at off: down to ye Key at 5 home ret^d to off & at 7 went to Room then home.

Tuesday, Octo^r 12, 1762

May ye Lord pardon what I've done amiss today! A day of much activity & motion.

After electr^{is} 2 patients this morn^g visited Mother Davis: also Mrs Giles who inform'd me her youngest child is much better since taking hemlock – call'd on Mr Eaton – then to off: after visited poor Bro^r Jn^o who seems better since tak^g 6 gra^s of Dr James powder last night. Ret^d to off p 11 & st^d 'till 2 after din^r spoke to Mr Pierce ye mal^r⁵⁶⁹ ab^t pay^g him dividend for Searle but he refused it & from ye character poor Searle bears it discourages me acting in his affairs. Call'd on Mr Morrish: then to off: at 5 visited Miss Sukey Cox – then to Sis^r Hop^s: Miss Roe's & to Palmers & bo^t packet of Dr Ja^s pow^r & sent Miss Sukey 5 gra^s for a dose tonight wrote Bro^r Ja^s & home p 8.

Wednesday, Octo^r 13, 1762

This morn^g at p 8 went up in town call'd at father's then to Cap^t Cheynes & from thence to Bro^r Jn^o & near 10 at off: afterw^{ds} went to Bishop & to Donne's⁵⁷⁰ & paid them dividend for Searle – staid at off & c 'till 2 – p 3 ret^d to off: at 5 visited Rachell & drank tea ret^d to off & p 7 visited Miss Roe & Suckey Cox – gave ye latter another dose of Dr James's pow^r & p 8 home.

⁵⁶⁹ In 1775 Andrew Pearce maltster was at 7 Rose Street.

⁵⁷⁰ Not identified.

Thursday, [October] 14, [1762]

This morn^g abⁱ 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Peningtons⁵⁷¹ Atkins's⁵⁷² Clymores⁵⁷³ Sedgleys & co⁵⁷⁴; Lynes⁵⁷⁵; Brights; Stockesleys⁵⁷⁶; Whitlocks⁵⁷⁷ – st^d at off & c 'till 2. – After din^r visited Suckey Cox. then to off at 5 drank tea at Mrs Marstons ret^d to off & at 7 went to Room & from thence went home with Mr Penny & spent an hour with him.

Friday, Octo^r 15, 1762

This day God has preserved & protected me! May I be truly thankful!

In the morn^g p 7 rode to Litⁿ & ret^d p 11. then to off & tarried 'till 2 after din^r Cap^t Cheyne call'd 'on me & we both went to Bedmin^r in quest of hemlock. Ret^d home near 5. Drank tea then to off: Afterwards went to two or three places with design of spend^g an hour but was disappointed in each therefore came home & endeavour'd to enjoy ye best of friends in silence & repose. Lord help me totally to surrender soul & body unto thee.

Saturday, Octo^r 16, 1762

This morn^g Mr Wallis came to town & breakfas^d at our house. near 9 I visited poor Miss Roe who has now apply'd to an old woman at Bedmin^r (& therefore laid aside ye hemlock) who promises her help.⁵⁷⁸

Afterw^{ds} went with Mr Wallis to ye Pothouse⁵⁷⁹ & had ye cockle halled to ye crane at ye Back⁵⁸⁰ & loaded it in our waggon there.

Staid on Ch^{ge} & c 'till 2 – after din^r went to Bro^r Jn^o & in my return from Clifton met Mr Symes & took walk with him & afterw^{ds} drank tea at his house in comp^a with Mrs Symes & also his sister Mrs Hunt⁵⁸¹. Near 7 at off: afterw^{ds} visited Rachell & home p 9.

⁵⁷¹ Probably Thomas Pennington, a slave trader and major sugar importer from the 1720s to the 1770s, and listed as Pennington and Biggs merchants 18 Orchard Street in 1775. In 1774 Dyer noted the death of a 'former acquaintance' Mrs Pennington of Marlborough Street, whose funeral was at the New Room.

⁵⁷² Probably Michael Atkins, merchant and shipowner, and Bristol's leading sugar importer, who died in March 1763, leaving an estimated £70,000.

⁵⁷³ William Clymer (d. 1771), a sailmaker, owned lots of properties on the Quay, and was involved in slaving; another William, soapmaker and Chandler, was at 51 St James Back in 1775.

⁵⁷⁴ Samuel Sedgeley (d. 1801) was a major tobacco importer, shipowner in the slave trade and partner in a sugar house; he was sheriff 1760–1 and a member of the Lewin's Mead congregation.

⁵⁷⁵ More likely 'Lyne tobacconist' on the Back in 1768 than the Quaker physician Edward Lyne (d. 1772); in 1775 a Thomas Lyne linendraper was at 16 Maryport Street, and a Richard Lyne baker at 23 Bedminster.

⁵⁷⁶ See 27/2.

⁵⁷⁷ Possibly Thomas Whitlock, grocer and teadealer at 4 Thomas Street in 1775; a Mr Whitlock subscribed to Croker's *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* in 1764.

⁵⁷⁸ Presumably the cunning woman consulted earlier by the Barnes family (see 29/3) and later by Mrs Giles (see 22/11, 30/11 and 7/12 and discussion there).

⁵⁷⁹ Bristol's various potteries were known as 'pot-houses'.

⁵⁸⁰ Cockle stoves, made at Coalbrookdale by Darby and brought to Bristol by his agent Thomas Goldney, were used for drying in gunpowder production, and so were being loaded in the wagon for the mills at Littleton. The 'great crane', built in 1733 by Padmore, was still one of Bristol's chief attractions in 1793–4.

⁵⁸¹ See 18/2.

Sunday, Octo^r 17, 1762

Went to St Werb^{ghs} morn^g & afternoon.

Monday, Octo^r 18, 1762

This has been a day of much activity with me, and my poor spirits have been much agitated thereby. In the morn^g visited Mother Davis – Mrs Giles & left 12 more hemlo: pills for her child who is abundantly better for those he has taken – near 10 at off: afterw^{ds} at Mr Brights, & Mr Atkins's – st^d at off & on Change 'till 2.

Sent Robt to Pedlars at Clifton⁵⁸² to fetch ye 2 boxes hemlo: pills & left 'em at Cap^t Cheynes by his desire – after dinner call'd on ye man at 3 Kings⁵⁸³ & p^d him on Searles acco^t afterw^{ds} at Mr Allisons & desir'd him to write for 50 or 60 lbs of milch butter⁵⁸⁴ – at 5 drank tea with Mrs Green – Mr Southcote & his wife was there also. AD was to have been there but prevented by Mrs Hopkins & Mr Norton⁵⁸⁵ coming to our house. At 6 went up to Cap^t Cheyne's to inspect some green hemlock which he has procured. – Mr Roquet & his wife & child was there & the late Mrs Labbee & her husband.⁵⁸⁶ At 7 at Room & then home

May my poor mind take release in God, in whom alone true rest can be found.

Tuesday, Octor 19, 1762

This morn^g went to Weltons⁵⁸⁷, Jenkins⁵⁸⁸, Davis, Cadell, Whites⁵⁸⁹ and Gortons⁵⁹⁰ & pd 'em dividend on Searles but some of 'em reced it with great ill will – went also to Custom House & to Aldermⁿ Laroche's – & staid at off & c^c 'till 2. p 3 ret^d to off at 4 went to St Werb^{ghs} & heard Mr Brown

In ev^g ye Committee met consist^g of Mr Elton, Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Miller, Deane, Worgan. They staid 'till ½ p 7.

Then I went to Room & heard part of a sermon from Mr Howell Harris.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸² See 6/9.

⁵⁸³ Several public houses shared this name, including one at the 'Head of the Quay', but perhaps this is one of the two south of the river in 1775, namely at 30 Thomas Street or 41 Tucker Street.

⁵⁸⁴ See 10/12.

⁵⁸⁵ See 2/6.

⁵⁸⁶ Mrs Labee, now clearly remarried, was the widow of Francis Labee, surgeon and man midwife, who was freed in 1726 and was described at his death in 1755 as 'an eminent surgeon of the city for 30 or more years'. He had been raised a Baptist and one of his apprentices was the Baptist minister and hymnwriter Benjamin Beddome, but Labee and his wife were also close to the Wesleys from 1739 onwards. Dyer had bought Mrs Labbee's old clock at auction for 4 guineas in 1758, and noted that 'it continues good' in 1801.

⁵⁸⁷ Possibly Sam Welton brewer and maltster at 18 Baldwin Street in 1775.

⁵⁸⁸ Both Philip and Richard Jenkins were trading to Africa in 1759, and one of these was probably the Mr Jenkins of Baldwin Street selling bar iron in 1755.

⁵⁸⁹ Perhaps Daniel White, trading to Africa in 1759, or the carpenter named on 2 February.

⁵⁹⁰ Perhaps John Gorton, perukemaker at 29 Narrow Wine Street in 1775.

⁵⁹¹ Howell Harris (1714–73) was a leading Welsh evangelical preacher, who regularly visited Bristol. On 20 August 1757 Dyer and Henry Davis* had met James Brown* and Harris at Symes's* and staid up until 11 p.m. 'hearing Howell Harris relate the many remarkable providences which had attended his pilgrimage, so exceeding interesting that I could have staid the whole night, had it not been for making my dear wife uneasy at home'. See *ODNB* entry.

Last night or this morn^g poor Mr Price ye taylor lost his wife in childbed.⁵⁹²

Wednesday, Octo^r 20, 1762

This morn^g visited poor Miss Roe who lyes in a weak condition. Afterw^{ds} at Mr Laroches Mr Curtis's & afterwards visited poor Bro^r Jn^o. Ret^d to off at 12 & staid 'till 2. After din^r went to Cap^t Cheynes & then to Sis^r Hop^s & afterw^{ds} at Rachells & at off near 7 & home p 8.

Call'd this morn^g 'on Ramzor & also on Knock⁵⁹³ & another p[er]son being both creditors of Searle. – After din^r call'd 'on Mr Morrish.

Thursday, Octo^r 21, [1762]

This morn^g went to Mr Penny & shew'd him a rough draught of a letter to be presented to ye lady's at Clifton, on Bro^r Jn^o's acco^t & left it with him to alter & mend.⁵⁹⁴

Afterw^{ds} at Mr Curtis's – also at Mr Halls in Wine Street & p^d him Searle's dividend. – staid at off 'till 2 then home. After din^r at Palmers & at off: Cap^t Cheyne came & wrote a letter – at 5 home ret^d again to off & at 7 at Room then home. May Jesus have mercy 'on me & teach me knowledge of himself for I am blind & ignorant.

Friday, Octo^r 22, 1762

This morn^g at 7 sat out for Littleton & ret^d at ½ p 10 – Mr Millard ye carpenter⁵⁹⁵ came to inspect ye roof at Tow^r Harratz w^{ch} wants repair^g – I went there with him: Then to off & from thence to Custom House – std on Ch^{ge} & c 'till 2 & after din^r at p 3 went to Mr Penny's from whence in company with Mr Eaton we took a walk – I ret^d with Mr Penny & drank tea at his house in comp^a with Mrs Bridges⁵⁹⁶ – & p 6 at off & home near 8. May ye Lord create in me right dispositions. Amen Lord Jesus Amen!

Saturday, [October] 23^d, [1762]

This morn^g p 7 went up to Mr Brown at his new habitation in Fort Lane⁵⁹⁷ he inform'd me Mr Badderly is turn'd out of his curacy at Hembury for preach^g the plain truth – afterw^{ds} visited poor Miss Roe who is as helpless as an infant being deprived of the use of both hands & feet – then to Mr Penny's & reced from him draught of a lre for Bro^r Jn^o to write to Miss Drax.

At 10 went to off: & st^d there & c 'till 2 – After din^r visited poor Bro^r Jn^o & gave him the above lre & staid with him 'till 5 then went to mothers with my spirits much

⁵⁹² The epitomised diary adds that he lived in Small Street. In 1775 a William Price taylor was at 3, Daltons Court, and Price and Rees taylors and staymakers at 2 Spring Lane.

⁵⁹³ See 7/10.

⁵⁹⁴ See 23/10 and 22/12 for letter intended for Miss Drax. Maybe John Dyer was thinking of reopening a grocery shop seeking the custom of the ladies of Clifton?

⁵⁹⁵ Daniel Millard (d. 1783) was the city carpenter, listed in 1775 as at 8 St James Barton, who became the partner of William Hopkins*.

⁵⁹⁶ Not identified, though Thomas Goldney knew William Bridges's wife who died in 1766.

⁵⁹⁷ Now Royal Fort Road.

depressed on acco^t of poor JD who appears very ill, his cough extremely violent &c – Drank tea at mothers & at 6 at off & st^d ‘till 8. & gave Dr Storck⁵⁹⁸ a run^g read^g & it appears that hemlock may prove useful to poor JD – May the Lord bless it to that purpose.

Sunday, Octo^r 24, 1762

This morn^g went to Capt Cheyne & consulted him with regard to Miss Roe & then carried 2 doses of James’s powders of 6 gra^s each & order’d both to be given if ye first did not operate in 2 hours after it was taken w^{ch} I find has been done & ye 2^d operated by vomit^g.

Call’d on Mr Allison’s where was Mr Ireland⁵⁹⁹ & had some conversation relative to poor Sis^r Dyer⁶⁰⁰ & her ill conduct I was told she accuses me very much for sleighting them – this seems to come very close to me! But may I be enabled to look above all these things & to go thro’ evill report & good report in the strength of the Lord. – afterw^{ds} went to St Werb^{ghs} & there again in aftern^o & afterw^{ds} visited Rachell & left Ire for our friend Mrs S who has made herself uneasy for a trifl^g matter. Then visited Miss Roe & home at 7.

Monday, Octo^r 25, 1762

Arose at 5 with intent of going to magazine this morn^g but rain prevented – at 8 up in town went to Cap^t Cheyne & consulted him ab^t poor Miss Roe & then visited her & advised to make a decoction of marshmallow & elder flowers & stupe her reins & abdomen &c & left 3 mer: pills 1 to be taken at 11 another this ev^g & ye other tomor^o morn^g provided she does not make water. She has had a total suppression of urine several days since & her water is obliged to be drawn off by the help of a surgeon.

At 9 at off afterw^{ds} at aldermⁿ Laroche & settled with him ret^d to off & st^d ‘till 2. – at p 3 ret^d there again & applied pretty close in settling Mr Heyw^{ds601} & finish^g ye annuall acco^{ts602} ‘till 7 then relaxed my mind by going to Room & p 8 home.

Tuesday, Octo^r 26, 1762

Arose this morn^g before 7 with my poor spirits greatly agitated having awoke out of a dream w^{ch} made very deep impression on my mind⁶⁰³ – the chief part of it was – that I thought I was in Miss Roe’s chamber & that she was in the greatest agony, seemingly

⁵⁹⁸ See 8/9.

⁵⁹⁹ James Ireland (1724–1814), of Bristol and Brislington, began his career, according to Dyer, as shopman to the grocer Charles Andrews, but Andrews ended up working for him as manager of the sugar house at the head of the Quay belonging to Ames*, Ireland and co sugar refiners; Ireland prospered as a merchant and became sheriff of Somerset in 1781. Ireland was an evangelical sympathiser, friend of the Countess of Huntingdon and particularly close to John Fletcher, ‘Wesley’s designated successor’, caring for him during his illness; Fletcher preached the funeral sermon for his first wife in 1769. He met Dyer through Allison* and Rowand* in 1760 and for a while they met on Sunday mornings at Ireland’s house.

⁶⁰⁰ A rare naming of his brother John’s wife!

⁶⁰¹ Arthur and Benjamin Heywood were the Liverpool agents of the Bristol gunpowder company.

⁶⁰² See 27/10, 30/10 and 2/11.

⁶⁰³ See introduction.

the agony of death, & that I was very busy in endeavour^e to keep her down in ye bed. I thought also that Dr Drummond was present – likewise in some part of my dream it seemed as if I was somewhere at church & in great confusion. I wanted to get out by a little door but on attempting was disappointed – but ye matter relat^e to Miss Roe I take the greatest notice of. As soon as I cou’d I went up to her house & was inform’d by her sister that she has been dying ever since some time yesterd^y & that she did not now expect her to live an hour – this is certainly a confirmation of my dream or rather my dream was a notice given me of her death.

May I follow her, so far as she has followed Christ Jesus. – I was greatly alarmed at my dream, lest ye pills I had left yesterday had proved of any bad consequence – but I find she took only one of ‘em & no kind of operation perceived.

Went to Brewho: this morn^e & call’d over ye month of Septem^r – at 9 home then to off: & st^d ‘till p 11 then went up to Clifton to see Bro^r Jn^o & told him something of his poor wife’s talk^e ab^t me. Staid on Change ‘till 2 – at 3 up in town visited Rachell met our poor friend twice may ye Lord protect & guide her!

Went to St Werb^{ghs} & heard Mr Brown then to off: & at 7 went to Mr Symes’s & at 10 home. – last night we had ye most violent rain & wind w^{ch} has been long since known.

Wednesday, Octo^r 27, 1762

This morn^e p 7 call’d on Mr Eaton & took walk with him – afterw^{ds} call’d on Mrs Giles & left 12 more hemlo: pills for her child – then to Mother Davis’s & at 9 at off & std there all ye morn^e ‘till 2 after din^r ret^d there again & staid an hour & finished ye annual accompts for both companys.⁶⁰⁴ – then ret^d home & at 5 our worthy friend Mrs S: came & staid ‘till 8 May God ye Lord be her preserver & protector – afterw^{ds} I went to ye Room being watchnight & staid ‘till 10⁶⁰⁵ & return’d home with AD.

I find that poor Miss Roe departed this life last night. This poor young woman began tak^e hemlo: pills ye 10 Sep. last & declined ‘em ab^t 14 days since owing to a nausea & vomit^e w^{ch} came on – in the course of her taking them a sediment was always observed in her urine her breast was also thought to be in a much better state by the surgeon who visited her. So that ‘tis probable the disease struck in upon her lungs &c.

Thursday, Octo^r 28, 1762

This morn^e at 9 went to off: afterw^{ds} at Mr Curtis’s & ret^d to off & st^d ‘till 2. – & then went to dine with Mr & Mrs Symes in consequence of an invitation reced this morn^e AD went with me likewise after din^r took walk w^b Mr Symes & p 6 up to off: & ret^d again to Mr Symes’s & st^d ‘till 10 then home.

⁶⁰⁴ In July 1756 the 2 gunpowder companies in Bristol united: see 12/1 and introduction. The combined operations lasted until 1803 when the Woolley works were closed and production concentrated on Littleton.

⁶⁰⁵ Watchnights were introduced by the Kingswood colliers as a night of prayer and hymnsinging to replace a Saturday night in the alehouse. John Wesley extended the practice around the country in 1742, and Dyer attended his first watch night in the Room on 4 October 1754. The services started about eight and finished a little after midnight, so the Dyers left early!

I find ye remains of Miss Roe were carried to ye Room this even^g & from thence to be interr'd but I did not hear of it 'till too late to go myself.⁶⁰⁶

Friday, Octo^r 29, 1762

Rose this morn^g p 6 but was prevented set^g out for Litⁿ by ye rain 'till p 8 & detain'd also at Mrs Olivers – ret^d home from thence at 12 & then to off & staid 'till 2. After din^r call'd on Mrs Harford & paid rent⁶⁰⁷. also on Mr Morrish & at Mrs Catcotts⁶⁰⁸ & p^d her 20/ for E Searle w^{ch} she accepted for ye rent. She sent her daughter Mrs Davey up stairs to sign her name Hannah Catcott & said that wou'd do as well as if done by herself. Afterw^{ds} visited poor Rachell & my spirits are depressed on hear^g of ye instability of many who did begin to runn well – may Jesus ye Lord have mercy on them & myself also.

At 5 went up to AD at Mr Brown's in Fort Lane & spent the ev^g there & at 10 home.

Poor Rachell requested that shou'd I survive her, that there may be no pompous funeral, but that she may be interred privately & without any noise – This she mentioned in reference to the great bustle & noise w^{ch} is making on acco^t of those who are buried from the Room – which she much disapproves of & therefore desires she may not be buried from thence.⁶⁰⁹

Saturday, Octo^r 30, 1762

Rose this morn^g ½ p 6 & p 7 up in town – call'd on ye surviv^g Miss Roe who bears cheerfully the loss of her dear sister between whom there was a very remarkable affection – reced from her ye remain of hemlo: pills – ret^d home to breakfast & p 9 up in town – staid at off & c 'till 2 – the gent^l seem greatly pleased at this years profits – Mr Deane I paid today his dividend. It is meat & drink to some people to get money. May Jesus give me a right understand^g & grant I may not set my affections on earthly things but that I may be sweetly lead & governed by his divine blessed spirit. This aftern^o spent most of my time at off: & staid there 'till 8 & then home.

Sunday, Octo^r 31, [1762]

Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o Mr Symes's subject in ye morn^g was "take up thy cross dayly & follow Jesus Christ"⁶¹⁰ The aftern^o Mr Sheppard preached & in his discourse undertook to reconcile St James & St Paul, concern^g faith and works.

⁶⁰⁶ John Wesley describes this funeral in his Journal. 'One who had adorned the gospel in life and in death having desired that I should preach her funeral sermon, I went with a few friends to the house and sang before the body to the Room. I did this the rather to show my approbation of this solemn custom and to encourage others to follow it. As we walked, our company swiftly increased, so that we had a very numerous congregation at the room. And who can tell but some of these may bless God for it to all eternity?' Rachel Tucker's comment to Dyer (see 29/10) suggests that she did not share Wesley's approbation of the 'solemn custom'.

⁶⁰⁷ Dyer rented the house in Great Garden from her since 1758.

⁶⁰⁸ The landlord of Mr Searle* in Temple Street, and possibly the mother of the Hannah Catcott who married William Morrish jnr* at Temple in January 1761 and died after childbirth 30 August 1762. In 1775 Hannah Catcott widow was at 86 Stokes Croft and Margaret Davey widow at 40 Frog Lane.

⁶⁰⁹ See 10/5, 21/5 and especially 28/10 and footnote.

⁶¹⁰ The text is Luke 9: 23.

Monday, Nov^r 1, 1762

Arose p 5 & near 7 mounted Hobby & rode to magazine – call'd on Bro^r Jn^o in my ret^d [sic] home ½ p 9 & p 10 at off: & st^d there &c 'till 2. Closed last months acco^t cash & I find an overplus of £40 w^{ch} cannot accot for. – after din^r went to Brewho: then call'd on Rachell & heard some acco^t of our poor friend Mrs S may ye Lord be her guide.

Then home – Mother Davis & Sis^r Davis w^h Sis^r Hop^s drank tea with us. – p 5 at off: & p 6 went to Mr Penny & st^d 'till p 8. I find myself puzzled about settling ye profits of last year in the just proportion to each comp^a & Mr P: has not yet quite helped me out.

Tuesday, Nov^r 2, 1762

This morn^g ab^t 8 went up to Mr Eatons & consulted him about ye acco^t which puzzles me – afterw^{ds} call'd on Mr Penny & p 9 at off & st^d there &c 'till 2 – after din^r went up to Mr Browns & afterw^{ds} at St Werb^{ghs} church then to off & st^d 'till near 8.

The Committee met this even^g but ye Littleton gentlemen⁶¹¹ met first viz^t Mr Elton, Mr Ames, & Miller to whom I paid their dividends by dra^{ts} on ye bank – & afterw^{ds} Mr Baugh, Mr Wansey & Mr Deane came – Mr Deane had his dividend last Saturd^y. Mr Miller, Mr Deane and Mr Wansey went away first when I had opportunity to speak to ye other 3 gentlemen about advancing Bro^r Roberts salary & they readily agreed to give him £30 per annum to commence 29 Sepr last & were also pleased to order me to pay myself 20 guineas as a gratuity which I esteem very generous. May I be thankful to God for his mercys & may I have wisdom & prudence.

Wednesday, Nov^r 3, 1762

Arose before 6 – p 7 went to Brewho: & st^d 'till ½ p 8. then went to Mr Symes's where there came a poor girl to be electrised for a violent cramp – went to off at 10: & st^d there &c 'till 2. I acquainted Bro^r Rob^t concern^g ye gentlemen agree^s last night to advance his salary to £30 p[er] ann: but poor boy he discovers discontent & wants me to allow him £5 besides. – However I told him I shou^d make him a present out of my own pocket of three guineas at ye end of next year i.e. at Mich^lmas being in consideration of his attend^a upon Littleton waggon for me.

After din^r call'd on Searle & ord^d him to make 20 quar^r bls & also at Mr Meylers but he is confin^d to his room.

St^d at off 'till ½ p 4 then to Sis^r Hop^s & drank tea with Mr & Mrs Pine. & then to Rachells & at 7 at off: from thence to Helpful Society & home p 8.

⁶¹¹ See 27/10.

Thursday, Nov^r 4, 1762

This morn^g p 9 call'd on Mag^s Faulke: afterw^{ds} at Palmers: Jenkins⁶¹² Curtis's: Farr^{s613} & R^d Browns⁶¹⁴ – staid at off 'till 2. – after din^r call'd on Mr Meyler & settled with him with regard to Searles affairs. He p^d me the ball^a due to me – afterw^{ds} call'd on Searle & gave him all the receipts & acco^t of what I paid for him – drank tea at Mrs Hop^s wth AD & her bro^r – then to off: & at 8 went up to Rachells to AD & home p 9. AD had a sumptuous sup^r at Rach^s on friends present.

Friday, [November] 5, [1762]

Ab^t 8 sat out for Litⁿ & ret^d at 12 staid at off 'till 2 after din^r call'd on Mr Penny & near 5 went to mothers & drank tea then to off & near 8 home.

Saturday, Nov^r 6, 1762

Call'd this morn^g at Mr Eatons & at Mrs Giles, her youngest dau^r has reced amazing benefit from ye hemlock.⁶¹⁵

Near 10 went to off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House – st^d on Change & c 'till 2. – after din^r call'd on Mr Symes & took walk & call'd on Bro^r Jn^o 'on our return home – May the Lord shew mercy unto him! Drank tea w^h Mr Symes & p 6 at off & home near 9.

Sunday, [November] 7, [1762]

Went to Colledge this m^g & sacra^t. Aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} – then went to father & drank tea wth him – afterw^{ds} visited Rachell & home p 7.

Monday, Nov^r 8, 1762

This morn^g went up to Mr Brown's but he was not ret^d from Harptree, afterwards reced a note from him signify^g that he had left our mare in ye country wth directions for her to be taken to Pensford fair⁶¹⁶ this day. This foren^o staid at off: my poor infirm body heavy & dull

after din^r met with Mr Hart. Call'd at Mr Allis^s Mr Cheney's – at 5 home ret^d to off & st^d 'till p 8. Yester^y & the day before people were in great expect^a of a peace⁶¹⁷, but today things carry a different appearance.

⁶¹² See 19/10.

⁶¹³ The Farris were a leading merchant family, with Richard Farr a major sugar importer until about 1760; Thomas and Richard are listed as merchants in 1775, going bankrupt together in 1778.

⁶¹⁴ Possibly Richard Brown, captain of the Warmley, at 31 on the Key in 1775.

⁶¹⁵ The epitomised diary notes that she nevertheless died on 15 April 1763.

⁶¹⁶ Edmund Rack noted that Pensford's regular Tuesday market had ceased by the 1780s, but does not record a fair there.

⁶¹⁷ See 9/11.

Tuesday, Nov^r 9, 1762

This day 'tis said 2 or 3 expresses are arriv'd at Brist^o wth acco^t of preliminaries of peace being actually signed.⁶¹⁸

This morn^g went up to Mr Browns – Mr Stokes⁶¹⁹ came whilst I was there – Mr Brown told me that him & Mr Powiss a gentleman now at Bath intend going to see Mrs Giles's children in ye country – my poor vain mind had some notion of going with them, but I believe they did not go today.

Went to off at 9 & st^d there 'till 2. At ½ p 3 went to St Werb^{ghs} where I saw poor friend & reced ye extracts from Mr Laws writ^{gs} w^{ch} I lent her sometime since.⁶²⁰ – Drank tea w^h Mrs Marston & p 6 went up to Mr Symes's & staid an hour, but his churchwardens being to sup with him this ev^g prevented my stay^g any longer. – I ret^d home ab^t 8. Call'd at Mr Hawksworths, but he was not at home. [Crossed out is 'This ev^g our neighbour Mrs Howell dyed' – see 11 Nov.]

Wednesday, Nov^r 10, 1762

Arose before [blank] after a very disturbed nights rest – my dreams were troublesome, & I suspected from what I dreamed that poor Rach^l was dead – but I found my suspicions groundless upon visit^g her this morn^g. Went also to Rudhalls⁶²¹ – & to Mr Curtis's st^d at off & c^c 'till 2. – This aftern^o drank tea w^h AD at Mr Greens & we both spent the ev^g there.

This morn^g met poor Mr Bull who was clerk to Mr Bright some years ago.⁶²²

Thursday, [November] 11th, [1762]

This day has been cold & winterish attended with snow & rain.

in ye morn^g went to off near 10 & staid 'till 2. After din^r went to Mr Browns drank tea there. afterw^{ds} call'd on Mr Allison & greed to send our mare to their field. 2/6 per week was mentioned. – & to pay what more shall be reasonable when hay is given to her – this matter I am apprehensive will be attended with inconveniency to me. Near 6 at off & home at 8.

Finished this ev^g some extracts from Mad^m Bourignons lres.⁶²³

This morn^g it seems our neighbour poor Mrs Howell dyed.⁶²⁴

⁶¹⁸ The entire back page of *FFBJ* 11 November is given over to the preliminary articles of peace.

⁶¹⁹ While this could be the brewer whose wife Dyer electrised on 21 January, it may be Thomas Stokes (d. 1773) whose daughter Mary (Polly) Stokes (1750–1823) was a friend of Rebecca Scudamore* and later, as Mrs Dudley, a Quaker preacher: see her *ODNB* entry.

⁶²⁰ See 22/8.

⁶²¹ Possibly John Rudhall of the ironworks in Bristol who subscribed to a Farley book in 1753, who may be the father of John Rudhall, the future proprietor of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, who was an apothecary's apprentice and friend of Thomas Chatterton in the 1760s.

⁶²² Not identified.

⁶²³ *A Collection of Letters, written by Mrs. Antonia Bourignon, upon Occasion of the Many Persecutions rais'd against her, for the Sake of the Truth. Done out of French. To which is prefix'd, her Confession of Faith: With A Preface to the English Reader* (1708).

⁶²⁴ See epitomised diary entry.

Friday, Nov^r 12, 1762

Rose $\frac{1}{2}$ p 6 & $\frac{1}{2}$ p 7 mounted Mr Greens mare – met with Mr Blake⁶²⁵ (who was going into Cornwall) as I was going out of town –

I rode to Littleton from thence to Hungroad magazine. dined at Pill – call'd on Bro^r Jn^o & reach'd home near 3 – p 4 call'd on Mr Ames afterw^{ds} at Brewho: then to mothers p 6 at off: at 7 visited Rachell & spent an hour with her & Miss Roe & at 8 home.

Saturday, Nov^r 13, 1762

Rose this morn^g at 7 & near 9 call'd on Mr Allison. – This day Giles fetch'd our mare from Harptree & put her into Mr Allisons ground. This morn^g went also to Rudhall & near 10 at off & st^d there &c 'till 2 – At 4 ret^d to off: drank tea at home then to off & st^d 'till 8.

My poor mind has been excised today at poor Bro^r Jn^o who has sent to me for 5 gui^s for acco^t Bro^r Ja^s & I have paid it & wrote him a lre this ev^g⁶²⁶ – may the Lord have mercy on him!

Sunday, [November] 14^h, [1762]

Went to St Werb^{ghs} morn^g & aftern^o & spent ev^g at home. Father and mother was with us in ev^g.

Monday, Nov^r 15, 1762

This m^g I rose $\frac{1}{2}$ p 6 & p 8 call'd on Mr Allison & went with him to field & saw our mare.

Ab^t 10 at off: afterw^{ds} at Geo Morgans⁶²⁷ & at Zeph. Frys. – afterw^{ds} at Mr Curtis's staid at off 'till 2.

p 3 at off: at 5 home where was Mr Brown who staid 'till p 6 & was electrised for strain of his instep – I went up in town with him – at 7 at Room & then home.

Tuesday, [November] 16, [1762]

Rose this morn^g somewhat indisposed in body – near 9 call'd on Mr Symes & at 10 at off: – afterw^{ds} Cap^t Cheyne came & by his desire went to Cust^o H^o & spoke to Mr Bullman⁶²⁸ who is a friend of Mrs Lanes & she has half a house w^{ch} Capt Cheyne wants to purchase hav^g already bought ye other half.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁵ See 8/4.

⁶²⁶ See 19/11 and 22/11.

⁶²⁷ George Morgan was 'many years' Dyer's tailor in New Street, dying in 1792.

⁶²⁸ Probably Thomas Bullman (listed in 1775 as Thomas Bullmas gentleman of 22 Trinity Street), who was chief creditor of various bankrupt merchants in the 1750s, and may be the cashier at the Customs House who Dyer records suffering a stroke in 1770.

⁶²⁹ See 17/11 for her house in Bath. Cheyne* moved to Bath and died there.

Staid on Ch^{ge} 'till 2 – st^d at home 'till 5 then at off: & st^d 'till near 8. The Committee met this ev^g consist^g of Mr Ames, Mr Elton, Mr Miller, Mr Wansey, Mr Worgan, & Mr Deane came before.

Wednesday, Nov^r 17, 1762

Lay in bed late this morn^g being somewhat indisposed with a cold – heard a melancholy acco^t on my coming down stairs viz^t that about 1 o'clock this morn^g a fire broke out in Unity Street St Phillips Plain & burnt down a house & what is worst of all a poor woman with child together with 7 children besides perished in the flames.⁶³⁰

near 10 went to off: & staid there &c 'till 2 – On Change went with Cap^t Cheyne & Mr Bullman to Coffee House & those 2 gentlemⁿ conversed about Mrs Lanes house at Bath.

After din^r st^d at home 'till near 5 then at off & st^d 'till 8 then home. – Wrote a long lre to Bro^r James this ev^g.

Thursday, Nov^r 18, 1762

This morn^g made a visit to several of my friends viz^t to Mrs Giles where I saw Polly & Doppey who both came from the country last Tuesday, & we hope their persecutor has left 'em⁶³¹ – afterw^{ds} at Mother Davis: also my mother's: Sis^r Hop^s & to Rachells – then ab^t 10 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2 – after din^r at Palmers & dip'd into Bishop Warburtons Treatise on the doctrines of grace, wherein he falls upon Mr Law & Mr Westley.⁶³²

At 5 home ret^d to off & near 7 call'd on Mr Penny then to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield who is lately come to town & p 8 home.

Lord have mercy on me pardon all my sins and do for me as I need.

Friday, Nov^r 19, 1762

This morn^g arose at 6 – & p 8 sat out for Littleton & ret^d home at 12. – Went to off & st^d 'till 2. – after din^r went to Rudhalls:⁶³³ Brittons & up to fathers – & at 5 home & p 6 went to Mr Symes's & spent ye ev^g. Mr Symes has sent an acco^t of ye poor sufferers by fire in Unity Street to be published tomor^o & proposing a collection for them. This day reced a lre from poor Bro^r Jn^o wherein he greatly resents what I said in my letter to him last Satur^y.

⁶³⁰ See 19–20/11.

⁶³¹ Durbin (p. 53) says they came on Monday 15th and were 'free from every disturbance till Saturday the 27th'.

⁶³² *The Doctrine of Grace: or the Office and Operation of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism* (1762) by William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, attacked both William Law* and John Wesley. The latter spent 22–26 November answering Warburton's book, publishing his reply in March 1763.

⁶³³ See 10/11.

Saturday, [November] 20, [1762]

This morn^g p 8 went up to Mr Browns & Mr Allison came there to inform of his horse being let out of field by ye boy that took our mare yesterd^y – call'd afterw^{ds} on Mr Penny; & also on Britton then to off: & at 10 call'd again on Britton & went with him to ye Iron Forge or smiths shop in St Phillips & met our wagⁿ there who brought an iron spindle w^{ch} was broke⁶³⁴ – called at Rudhalls & then to off & st^d there & c 'till 2 – after din^r called at Palmers & gave 5/ towards a subscripⁿ for ye poor sufferers by fire⁶³⁵ – visited Moth^r Davis & electriss^d her toe wth my small machine afterw^{ds} call'd on Rachell & st^d 'till p 6 then to off & at 8 home. May the Lord have mercy on me as I need.

Sunday, Nov^r 21, 1762

Heard Mr Whitfield twice today vizt morn^g & ev^g. Went to St Werb^{ghs} foren^o & aftern^o.

Monday, [November] 22^d, [1762]

This morn^g went to Clifton & conversed with poor J:D: about his let^r w^{ch} he sent me & I hope all illwill & c will now subside on both sides – afterw^{ds} at p 9 call'd on Mag^s Faulke then to off: then to Ogbornes⁶³⁶ – call'd at the Lamb & heard an acco^t from Mrs Giles of her being to the woman at Bedmins⁶³⁷ (who rents a room at ye Queens

⁶³⁴ See 23/11 and 29/11.

⁶³⁵ *FFBJ* 20 November has a long account of the fire at Unity St, inviting people to send money to Mr Smith watchmaker in Broad St or Mr Palmer's* bookseller in Wine Street. On 24 December it publishes an account of all the subscriptions and how they were spent.

⁶³⁶ A Quaker ironmonger, listed in 1775 at 12 West Street.

⁶³⁷ See above 16/10 and below 30/11 and 7/12. John Evans in 1824 (*Chronological Outline*, pp. 278–9) assumed that this woman was the same 'Mrs Biggs a pretended conjuror or cunning woman of Bedminster' whom Samuel Norman reports was consulted concerning the possession of George Lukins of Yatton in 1788. She promised to cure him of his fits by driving the witches or devils out of him and sent several packets to be burned on the fire during his fits, which consisted on brown paper rolled up with pins driven through it. When the packets were thrown on the fire Lukins apparently uttered 'horrid execrations'. On 28 July 1791 Martha Biggs was tried and convicted at the Somerset quarter-sessions at Bath under the Witchcraft Act of 1736, for claiming to be able to identify the thieves who had stolen property from three Somerset men in the Shepton Mallet area who had travelled to Bedminster to her husband's alehouse to consult her; in two cases she had charged them each one and a half guineas over two consultations, while in the third case she had also provided a cure for rheumatism. Martha presented a petition (signed by the local clergymen, churchwardens and 8 other parishioners) claiming that she was a midwife who had 'bred up a large family of 9 children with reputation'. However this Martha, who was buried at Bedminster aged 57 on 12 December 1804, was almost certainly the Martha Hughes baptised at St Mary Redcliffe 19 July 1747, who had first married William Marshall at St Philip and St Jacob 6 May 1771, then John Bromfield at Temple on 6 February 1781. Again a widow by 1784, on 14 July 1785 she married Richard Biggs, a victualler at Bedminster (Richard's first wife Ann Barton was buried 15 April 1785). If Martha was born in 1747, it hardly seems possible that she had established herself as 'the cunning woman of Bedminster' by the time she was 15 years old in 1762 (and Dyer refers to the cunning woman as 'old' on both 16 October and 7 December, though he never met her himself). Perhaps it was her mother Ann Hughes (Thomas Hughes had married Ann Gage at St Mary Redcliffe 30 September 1744), or Biggs' first wife Ann, or another woman who taught Martha the 'art'.

Head⁶³⁸) on acco^t of a moider⁶³⁹ w^{ch} Mrs Elmes has lost or mislaid but is since found, agreeable to ye said womans prediction – & from all circumstances, it appears pretty evident that ye poor wretch has a familiar to attend her.

at 11 ret^d to off & st^d ‘till 2 – after din^r call’d at Palmers & at Brewho: & tow^{ds} 5 home – Then to off: & near 7 went to Tabernacle & near 9 home.

Tuesday, Nov^r 23, 1762

This morn^s near 9 went to Page & co forge about iron spindle w^{ch} they have mended⁶⁴⁰ – then to Brewho: & ½ p 10 at off: then call’d on Mr Wansey & with him went to Cust^o House & he gave bond for 3 debens^{res641} – ret^d to off & st^d there & c ‘till 2. – after din^r call’d at Cap^t Garnetts⁶⁴² – then visited poor Rachell & ab^t 5 went to mothers & drank tea & near 6 at off – near 7 at Tabernacle & home ab^t 9.

Wednesday, [November] 24, [1762]

This morn^s p 9 up in town: then to Cap^t Garnetts & from thence to Mr Symes’s where was poor Jacks ye clerk of St Nicholas who came there to clear himself concern^s his not serving for Mr Brown at St Werb^{ghs}. He declared that he has not refused serv^g himself, but that his reason for not serv^g hitherto was want of a person to lead him to church his boy being employed every day except Sundays.⁶⁴³

Afterw^{ds} went to Cust^o H^o & at 11 at off & st^d ‘till 2. – after din^r visited Mr Penny & staid the whole aftern^o with him ‘till 6 then to off & st^d ‘till p 8 then home.

Thursday, Nov^r 25, 1762

Rose not ‘till p 8 – p 9 up in town – went to mothers – Palmers – & afterw^{ds} at Thomas & co⁶⁴⁴ & c – st^d at off & c ‘till 2 – after din^r met Mr Ames’s serv^t who was com^s for me – I went to Mr A^s who gave me 2 letters he reced – then to off: w^h intent to ans^r one of ye lres viz^t Mr Strachey but with Mr Wanseys advice declin^d it – at 5 drank tea w^h Mrs Marston. Afterw^{ds} went to Williams’s auction of books⁶⁴⁵ & st^d ‘till 8 then home. AD informs me (who has visited Rachell this ev^s) that our friends serv^t maid is married, w^{ch} occasions a tryal to her. She has been married a month since, but kept it secret ‘till last Tuesday.

⁶³⁸ There were numerous public houses of this name in Bristol, including in 1760 ones in the Castle, in King Street and in Cuckold Alley, St James Barton. If it was operating in 1762, the most likely location would be the Queens Head inn in Redcliff Street (from whence the wagons went to Langford and Wrington in 1793–4) which was on the road to Bedminster, but this inn is not listed in 1775, so it may not have been operating then (a 1760 list of licenses does not cover the wards south of the river).

⁶³⁹ A Portuguese gold coin valued at 27 shillings.

⁶⁴⁰ Samuel Page was an ironmaster with an iron forge or smith’s shop in St Phillips; in 1775 he is listed as a gentleman at 42 St Philips Plain.

⁶⁴¹ See 8/6.

⁶⁴² Henry Garnett merchant of 7 Trinity Street is listed in 1775; and he subscribed to Croker’s *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* in 1764.

⁶⁴³ Presumably he was blind. Brown’s Tuesday lectures, formerly at St Nicholas, were now being held at St Werburgh’s – see 7/9.

⁶⁴⁴ Not identified.

⁶⁴⁵ See James Williams*.

Friday, Nov^r 26, 1762

Rose p 6 & ab¹ 8 sat out for Litⁿ & return'd near 1 went to off & st^d 'till 2 – after din^r again to off & at 5 home ret^d up in town & ab¹ 6 visited poor Rach¹ & st^d 'till p 8. – This servant of God is at present under darkness & heaviness – may she stay her mind on ye Lord.

Saturday, [November] 27, [1762]

This morn^g p 8 went to Palmers & read ye papers &c. then to off: afterw^{ds} at Sedgley & co⁶⁴⁶ – & Thomas's & co – st^d at off &c 'till 2 & then by invitation of friend Hawksworth, went to his home & din'd with him in comp^a with Mr Badderly & esq^r Haynes. – Ret^d to off ½ p 3 – at 5 home ret^d again to off & st^d 'till 8.

Mr Durbin this aftern^o inform'd me that ye disturbances again begun at the Lamb last night.⁶⁴⁷

Sunday, Nov^r 28, 1762

Morn^g – just now (p 9 o'clock) visited Mrs Giles at ye Lamb, who inform'd me that last Thurs^y night Molley ye nurse maid heard some kind of noise in ye chamber where she lay like something jingling w^{ch} frightened her a little but noth^g more was heard that night – Friday even^g Polley Giles was sent to bed by herself & soon after she went up stairs heard like ye jingling of keys in ye room w^{ch} greatly affrighted her & she call'd for ye maid to come up stairs – afterw^{ds} she heard nothing – yesterday (Saturday) morn^g soon after one of ye servants arose, a noise was heard in ye room where ye children lay some distance from the bed, namely, nine small raps against the floor (I think it was) & immediately the same number of exceedingly loud thumps w^{ch} awaked Mrs Giles who lay in a room adjoining – afterwards Polley Giles was pulled out of bed by her feet by the same invisible power & immediately afterwards fell into a fit & foamed at ye mouth but 'on being removed to another room recovered – afterwards Polley, Bettye, & Doppey Giles were all going down stairs together & when they had advanced down a few stairs an apron w^{ch} before lay in a basket with some foul clothes on top of the stairs was as 'twere whisked before their eyes covered their faces w^{ch} greatly affrighted them & they all skreemed out & retired back to their mamma who was not yet come down stairs – this was all that has happened 'till this morning when sometime after ye family were come down stairs Doppey standing at ye door w^{ch} enters their public kitchen ye same old woman she has seen heretofore, appeared, took her up pretty high from the ground (as the child expresses it) & carry'd her to a dark hole under the stairs (I think it is) in ye back kitchen & there seated her & ye old woman sat by & told the child that she shou'd not trouble them as usual, but shou'd visit 'em now & then – also she said that there was a family in town now troubled in ye same manner as they had been – the child was here a quarter of an hour before ye family cou'd find her 'tho they searched every place as they cou'd think of. & ye children declare that when she was first missed they searched even this dark hole but

⁶⁴⁶ See 14/10.

⁶⁴⁷ See 18/11.

cou'd not see her & 'tis remark^{le} there was a woman in ye back kitchen making a fire under ye boiler & was there before the child was conveyed to ye above mention'd place & continued in the kitchen 'till after she was discovered & yet did not here not see her put in – the child declares she cou'd not cry out for them to hear her, tho' she cou'd hear her mamma call out “Doppey” several times.⁶⁴⁸

[two pages pasted in here which appear to be 1 and 2 January so moved to start]

After service at St Werb^{ghs} this morn^g went into ye vestry to Mr Symes & by his invitation went home with him to dinr & afterwards ret^d again to church with him. In ye even^g went to Tabernacle & afterw^{ds} at Quakers meet^s & hope spent that time profitably.

Monday, Nov^r 29, 1762

This morn^g p 9 went to off & then call'd on Mr Britton & went with him ... ye forge in St Phillips⁶⁴⁹ & staid an hour while he was instruct^s Powell⁶⁵⁰ about setting ye spindle right w^{ch} he has made crooked in mend^s it. Ret^d to off at 11 & st^d 'till 2. – after dinr took walk to Mr Allison's field & at 4 at off afterw^{ds} went to Sistr Hop^s & drank tea there ret^d to off & ½ p 6 went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield from these words viz^t For me to live is Christ & to dye is gain⁶⁵¹ tomor^o morn^g Mr Whit^{fd} sets out for Plym^o.

This day Mr Ames sat out for Lond^o

Tuesday, Nov^r 30, 1762

This morn^g visited poor mother (& carry^d her decoction of bark⁶⁵²) who was extremely ill in ye night wih a violent head ach – p 10 at off: – afterw^{ds} visited Mother Davis & call'd on Mrs Giles who went yesterd^y⁶⁵³ to ye cunning woman at Bedmins^r to ask

⁶⁴⁸ Durbin (p.53) only records 'nine loud knocks and frightened Molly into fits' on Saturday 27th, and none of the other events recorded by Dyer. However, he adds 'It spoke (so loud that the maid heard) that the affair would be brought to light. They answered, that it had told them lies, in saying that it would cease in a year. It said, though it was hired afresh, it would not torment them long. This, and the following, was spoken audibly, that the maid heard it. It said also that another family was troubled, but that this would likewise be brought to light.'

⁶⁴⁹ See 23/11.

⁶⁵⁰ John Powell brightsmith (at 17 Bridewell Lane in 1775) made an electrical machine for Symes* in 1760, and a pocket one for Dyer himself on 28 April 1761.

⁶⁵¹ The text is Philippians 1: 21.

⁶⁵² See 22/5.

⁶⁵³ Durbin (p. 54) offers a rather confusing chronology at this point, as he refers to 'Monday the 19th it troubled them as usual. Molly the maid, felt a cold hand slap her across the eyes. I saw one eye blackish. At night I went, but it would not answer many questions. Mrs Giles had asked my opinion, whether they should not go to those called *White Witches*, to have these troubles stopped. I told them, if *they* could stop it, it must be done by the power of the devil; therefore I thought it not lawful to go to them; but to trust the providence of God for deliverance. But as it continued above the year, and was hired for another year, they were determined to go to the woman at *Bedminster*, to see if she could stop it. The morning they went it was very violent, and spoke aloud, and called Mrs Giles, and said they should not be much the better for going to the *Cunning Woman*; and as they were going out at the door, pinched Molly in the cheek till the blood came. I saw the mark of it.'

advice about her affliction⁶⁵⁴ May ye Lord pardon this folly! It seems that both yesterday & this morn^g a very distinct articulate voice was heard by ye nurse maid as well as ye children in their chamber to pronounce several words.⁶⁵⁵

St^d on Ch^{ge} 'till 2 – after din^r went to St Werb^{ghs} afterw^{ds} visited poor mother who is very ill! p 5 at off & st^d 'till p 7 – then went to Mr Symes's & staid 'till near 10.

The Committee met this ev^g consist^g of Mr Miller Mr Baugh Mr Deane & Mr Wansey.

Wednesday, Dec^r 1, 1762

This has been a day of tryal to me but ye Lord has brought me through it praised be his holy name.

In ye morn^g visited Mrs Giles – then to off p 9 where Mr Miller came & appeared extremely angry of Bro^r Jno^s acco^t say^g he had used him ill⁶⁵⁶ of w^{ch} I sent Rob^t to acq^t JD – afterw^{ds} father came to inform me that poor mother was extremely ill with pain in her head & quite delirious. I visited her at 1 o'clock: & from thence went to Mr Barry to send her an open^g mixture in aftern^o – after din^r went up again to mothers who seemed a little better but her head exceed^g bad – near 5 went home & afterw^{ds} Mr Symes came & drank tea. I took my leave of him $\frac{3}{4}$ p 6 & went to yearly meeting of Helpful Society⁶⁵⁷ where I staid 'till $\frac{1}{2}$ p 8 & then home. – Mr S^s went home before my return.

Thursday, Dec^r 2, 1762

Visited poor mother 3 times today who seems much easier in her head this even^g praised be God for it!

This morn^g call'd on Cap^t Cheyne – then went to mo^{rs} then to off: also to Cust^o Ho: saw Mr Wansey who has a scheme to send me in ye North – Lord order for ye best & preserve me from evil – st^d on Ch^{ge} 'till 2. After din^r went to Brewho. in ye ev^g visited Rachell & at 9 went with AD from mothers home.

Friday, [December] 3, [1762]

This morn^g I was disappointed of our mare – she having taken a lameness when Mr Brown last rode her & therefore hired Mr Greens mare & sat out for Littleton p 7 & ret^d near 12 – our d^r friend Mrs S: made a short visit to us this morn^g. –

⁶⁵⁴ Durbin (p. 54) adds 'Mrs Giles and two neighbours, went to Bedminster; but were resolved not to tell what they came about, to see if the woman knew their thoughts. They sat down in her room, and she began, without their telling what they came about, and told Mrs Giles, that she should have come to her before, for that there had been horrible Witchcraft at her house; that Molly and her sister had been troubled much; that her husband had lost his life through it; that a man in Bristol had given many pieces of Gold to a woman in Gloucestershire to do it. And so, for an hour and a half, told them every thing that had happened, and some *secret* things, which Mrs Giles said, she thought she could not possibly have known by hearing. But, as all these things had been long and publicly talked of, she might have easily heard the whole, and yet no WISER than her neighbours.' She then referred to Malchi (see quotation in footnote under 10/2). See also below 7/12.

⁶⁵⁵ See 28/11 footnote.

⁶⁵⁶ Presumably over the use of his house in Clifton (see 8/5).

⁶⁵⁷ See 6/1.

Went to off & st^d 'till 2 afterw^{ds} went to ye farriers & call'd on Mr Brown & then to poor mothers & staid there in comp^a with Miss Fisher 'till ½ p 4 then home – then to off & st^d 'till 8 – may ye Lord shew ye mercy to me I need!

Saturday, Dec^r 4, 1762

This morn^e went to field, call'd on Cap^t Cheyne & on moth^r & at 10 at off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o H^o st^d at off & c 'till 2. – p 3 ret^d to off & Mr French⁶⁵⁸ came & desired me to write Mr Elton who is Lond^o w^{ch} I did. – at 5 home ret^d to off: p 6 went to Palmers: then to Rachells & to mothers & p 8 home.

Sunday, [December] 5, [1762]

This morn^e went to Temple Church & sacra^t there⁶⁵⁹ – & aftern^o at St Werb^{ghs} & spent ev^g at home.

Monday, Dec^r 6, 1762

This morn^e p 7 took walk visited poor mother & ret^d home near 9 – then to off: sent Rob^t to maga^z on foot this morn^e – went to Cust^o H^o st^d at off & c 'till 2 – reced complaint from Mr Bonbonous that B Ramzor wou'd not deliv^r pow^r yesterday.

This aftern^o went into Lambstreet then to my mothers & drank tea there with AD – near 6 at off: afterw^{ds} went to Mr Symes's where was Mr Camplin & Mag^s Faulke. Staid 'till p 8 then home.

Tuesday, Dec^r 7, 1762

This morn^e Mr Badderly breakfas^d with us – p 9 went up in town – visited Mother Davis – also called on Dickey Symes who is at Mrs Pearces⁶⁶⁰ for change of air on acco^t of hooping cough – call'd also at ye Lamb & Mrs Giles inform'd me ye old woman of Bedmins^r has lately been there and given 'em instructions how to manage ye children in order to counteract ye charm & likewise gave expectation that she wou'd bring to light ye persons concerned in that affair⁶⁶¹ – oh may Jesus be ye refuge of that family & may they not flee to ye Devil for assistance. –

⁶⁵⁸ See 12/8.

⁶⁵⁹ This was Dyer's parish church, although he preferred St Werburgh's (see introduction).

⁶⁶⁰ Not identified.

⁶⁶¹ Durbin (p. 55) describes this as if it was recommended at the visit on 29 November: 'she bid them, however, take the two children's first water in the morning, and put it in the pipkin on the fire; and if, when it boiled, all colours of the rainbow came out of it visibly, she could cure it, and she would do the rest at home. They accordingly put the water on the fire, and, several told me, beautiful colours came out of it, like the rainbow. – From that day they have had no disturbance; but have been quiet above a year. How far the *cunning* woman may have contributed to this, I will not pretend to say.' The penultimate sentence suggests Durbin's account was written in late 1763 or early 1764. The reference to rainbow colours may have resonated with Durbin because of another event, omitted from the narrative itself, but included in the editor's preface (pp. 6–7) in 1800. This reports that Durbin's 'often repeated request to the Spirit, as it was termed, to favour him with an interview ... on any terms consistent with his character as a Christian' led eventually to a meeting where Durbin 'adjured it in the most solemn manner, to shew itself in any form, or way it thought proper. After a short time spent in waiting, a loud knocking took place on the opposite

went to Cust^o House this morn^g visited mother – st^d at off &c ‘till 2. –
at 3 went to St Werburghs & heard Mr Hawies⁶⁶² preach there from Titus 2:14⁶⁶³ &
p 5 visited Rachell ret^d to off ½ p 6 & about 8 home.

Wednesday, Dec^r 8, 1762

This morn^g p 9 up in town – afterw^{ds} at Brewho: & staid an hour.

Visited poor mother – then to off & staid ‘till 2 – oh may Jesus be my refuge. –
after dinner went to Clifton & spent a short time with Bro^r Jn^o – call’d at
Mr Symes’s ‘on my return & was informed Mas^r Dickey is very ill – then home ret^d
to off: afterwards spent an hour at Williams’s auction of books w^{ch} discomposed my
poor mind & unsettled my nerves – May ye Lord pardon me herein as well as in every
other instance of folly.

Afterw^{ds} ret^d to off & st^d ‘till near 9 read^g Jacob Bohme⁶⁶⁴ which prov’d a blessed
means of restoring my mind to composure.

Thursday, Dec^r 9, 1762

Rose ab^t 7 went up in town p 9 accidentally met with Mr Symes as I was going
towards his house & parted with him at ye back door of St Werb^{ghs} where he was
going to marry a couple – afterw^{ds} visited Father Davis who is layn by on acco^t of bad
health – ret^d to off: & at 12 visited poor Rachell & ret^d to off: near 1 staid there &c
‘till 2 – & after din^r went to Father Davis^s with a bottle of gum guaiacum⁶⁶⁵ p 5 ret^d to
off: where was my poor Bro^r Jn^o who staid a short time with me. – at ½ p 6 left off:
& went to Mr Pennys where I spent the ev^g in comp^a with Mr Eaton – May Jesus have
mercy ‘on me as I need!

Friday, Dec^r 10, 1762

Sat out for Littleton ½ p 7 & ret^d home p 12. – went to off: & st^d ‘till 2. After din^r ret^d
to off: afterw^{ds} at Mr Allison’s who has reced a cask butter w^{ch} is for Bro^r James⁶⁶⁶ – p
5 ret^d to off & p 6 went up to Mr Symes’s & spent the ev^g there – Mr Walker⁶⁶⁷ was
there part of ye time.

side of the wainscot (it was at night, and the place in deep darkness.) Lifting his eyes towards the place
where the noise seemed to be, he discovered a coloured luminous appearance, of a circular form, about the
size of a common plate: the colours resembled those of a rainbow: the brighter ones were extremely vivid,
and deeply shaded with the *red, blue, and indigo*. The Writer believes that Mr. D said, he then asked some
questions, but what they were, he cannot now recollect.’

⁶⁶² Rev Thomas Haweis (c. 1734–1820) was an Oxford graduate and evangelical, who became chaplain
to the Countess of Huntingdon and published a *Short Account* of her last days in 1791, as well as a range
of other works such as *Evangelical Principles and Practice* (1762) and *The Communicant’s Spiritual
Companion: or, an evangelical preparation for the Lord’s supper* (1763); in 1791 he preached the funeral
sermon at Temple for the evangelical minister there, Joseph Easterbrook (see James Brown*).

⁶⁶³ ‘Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify unto himself a peculiar
people, zealous of good works.’

⁶⁶⁴ See 10/12 below.

⁶⁶⁵ *Guaiacum* is a West Indian genus of tree/shrub, whose wood is used in medicine as *lignum vitae* and
its resin is gum guaiacum.

⁶⁶⁶ See 18/10.

⁶⁶⁷ Possibly the brother who had brought Symes a letter from Rev. Samuel Walker* in 1755.

Near 10 home.

Mr Symes has reced Ire from Mr Langcake⁶⁶⁸ advis^g that ye works of Jacob Behmen will be printed & that ye threefold life ye 40 questions & way to Christ will be published ab^t March next in a quarto vol: & that ye philosophy is illustrated with many curious figures by Mr Law.⁶⁶⁹

Saturday, Dec^r 11, 1762

This morn^g at 9 up in town – visited Father Davis afterw^{ds} at Cust^o H^o & was inform^d of license being arriv^d for ship^g of pow^r to Liverp^o⁶⁷⁰ then went to ye Liverp^o vessel – ret^d to off: & st^d there &c ‘till 2 – Mr Ames inform^d me that Shapland in ye Castle⁶⁷¹ has laid an attachment⁶⁷² for £150 on a sum money w^{ch} Williams & Evans⁶⁷³ owes Hale & Madderne⁶⁷⁴, & desired me to go to Mr Bengough⁶⁷⁵ & make affidavit to our debt of £16 14. 8 & desire him to lay an attachment for that sum also which I did. – after din^r ret^d to off: at 5 went up to mothers – then visited Rachell p 6 at off & st^d ‘till p 8 then home.

Sunday, Dec^r 12, 1762

This day heard Mr Hawies⁶⁷⁶ preach at St Werb^{ghs} both foren^o & afterno where was very large congregations both times. Spent ye ev^g home & desire to be thankful for all mercies.

Monday, [December] 13^h, [1762]

This morn^g call^d at mothers then to Mr Symes who inform^d me that Mrs Symes & his son Dicky is at Hotwells where they went Saturday & are to continue sometime

⁶⁶⁸ See 3/4.

⁶⁶⁹ *The Works of Jacob Behmen, the Teutonic Theosopher. Containing, I. The Aurora. II. The Three Principles. To which is prefixed, the life of the author. With figures, illustrating his principles, left by the Reverend William Law, M.A. (4 vols, 1764–1781). The local publisher of Jacob Boehme (1575–1624) was to be Thomas Mills (see 13/1) who published *The Way to Christ discovered and described in the Following Treatises. 1. Of True Repentance. 2. Of True Resignation. 3. Of Regeneration. 4. Of the Supersensual Life. By Jacob Behmen. To which are added some other pieces relative to the same subjects; as also a treatise on the four complexions. Written by the same author (Bath, 1775) and sold Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial, and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen: now first done at large into English, from the best edition of his works in the original German. With an introductory preface of the translator, directing to the due and right use of this mysterious and extraordinary theosopher. By Francis Okely, Formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge (Northampton, 1780).**

⁶⁷⁰ See 6/3.

⁶⁷¹ Neither the leading apothecary Joseph Shapland (b. 1727), nor the soapboiler Thomas Shapland (d. 1791) are recorded in the Castle area.

⁶⁷² ‘Taking securing or detaining a person or thing by means of a writ’.

⁶⁷³ See 22/1.

⁶⁷⁴ See 29/1.

⁶⁷⁵ Henry Bengough (c. 1739–1818) was clerk to the attorney Cadell in Wine Street, marrying his daughter in 1760 and becoming a leading attorney (at 28 Wine Street in 1775). He was undersheriff by 1763 and served as mayor in 1792, establishing a civic charity in his name (BRO 33041/BMC/10); he was an Unitarian. His papers are in the Jeffries collection in Bristol Reference Library.

⁶⁷⁶ See 7/12.

for change of air for Dickey – at 10 went to off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House st^d off &c ‘till 2 p 4 visit.. ...

[pages then out of order 15/16 comes before rest of 13 and 14 – then gap to 22nd]

Father Davis – in even^g p 5 Geo Bush call’d for me by Mr Deane’s direction to whom we both went & I gave Mr Deane an ord^r for pow^r for his ship ye Juba.⁶⁷⁷

Afterw^{ds} went to Wms’s sale of books & at 7 went to Tabern^a & home at 9.

Tuesday, Dec^r 14, 1762

Lord forgive my sins and follys of this day!

This morn^g p 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at Cust^o House also at Mr Deane’s &c staid at off: &c ‘till 2 – after din^r went to St Werb^{ghs} – drank tea with Mrs Marston – then to off: the Committee met this ev^g consist^g of Mr Ames, Mr Elton, Deane, Miller, Wansey – they went away near ... & I spent afterw^{ds} an unprofitable hour at Williams’s sale of books Lord forgive me.

Wednesday, Dec^r 15, 1762

This morn^g p 8 went to Brewho afterw^{ds} visited mother then to off: sent Rob^t to magazine – went to Cust^o H^o call’d at Mr French’s⁶⁷⁸ – st^d at off &c ‘till 2. After din^r call’d at Mr Ames’s & he told me the 70 b^{ls} might be dd to KM Johns⁶⁷⁹ order as he has promis^d to pay housing – afterw^{ds} down to Key &c. – visited Rachell p 6 at off & st^d ‘till 8 then home.

Thursday, [December] 16, [1762]

Rose p 7 – p 9 up in town – visited Mr Symes – afterw^{ds} at ye Lamb ab^t salt petre. call’d on Father Davis – staid at off &c ‘till 2 – after din^r visited mother – saw Cap^t Cheyne – p 5 home ret^d to off & st^d ‘till 8.

[17–21 December missing, but probably include the following two other torn pages, which appear on top of the pages for 29 March. The reference to ‘field’ dates them after mid-November (when their horse is put in Allison’s field), and there are no other missing pages after October. If they are successive days then given that neither is a Sunday, they are either 17–18 or 20–21 December, but as they are separate sheets they may be two different days in that period. In the other diary (fo 125) it says that 21 December entry records Mr and Mrs Symes going to Hotwells, so neither of these

⁶⁷⁷ A large slaving vessel which was registered in 1752 and again in 1760, when it belonged to John Curtis* and co. In 1762 its owners were Thomas Deane*, John Curtis and Michael Atkins (see 14/10) in 1762 and it left Bristol on 24 December for Bonny then South Carolina, where it arrived August 1763, leaving in October to get home in December. Later trips are recorded as ‘Thomas Deane and co’ and then ‘James Laroche* and co’. On its journey home from its 1769 voyage it was lost with all its crew off Barnstaple Bay in 1770.

⁶⁷⁸ See 12/8.

⁶⁷⁹ Not identified.

items appears to be 21 December, so it is perhaps most likely that they are Friday 17 and Saturday 18 December]:

Happen'd to me w^{ch} ... happen in one day. In ye morn... call'd at Mr Brittons went to Marst.. Cust^o House & Mr Atkins's⁶⁸⁰ & was disappoint.. ship ye powder on bo^d ye Henry⁶⁸¹ altho' I had entered it. At change time Capt Phil...⁶⁸² came up to ye off: & in his bluster^s w.. made a great noise & I in my turn stormed at him. Bro^r Rob^t w.. home ill. – at 2 I went home & p... to off: in ye ev^g Ramzor came & ... about his not being able to fulfil his ... of living at magazine & yet he seems .. to leave ye place – my behaviour was stern – may Jesus overcome in my ... every wrong principle ½ p 7 went to Rob^t from thence to Mr Symes's & ... p 8.

... & home at 12 soon after our d^r fr^d Mrs S came & spent an hour – p 1 went to off & st^d 'till 2 afterw^{ds} call'd Mr Brown & went with him ..ield & afterw^{ds} called on Capt ...ne & we had some unprofitable ..versation on religion his ..timents being very different ..om mine – at 5 home ret^d ... off and st^d 'till p 8.

Wednesday, Decer 22, 1762

This morning p 7 went with Mr Allison to field & call'd on Mr Brown in our return – afterw^{ds} visited my mother also Fath^r Davis – & ab^t 10 at off: st^d there &c 'till 2. 'on Change spoke to young Mr Durbin request^g him to remem^r Miss Drax concern^g Bro^r Jn^o⁶⁸³ – after din^r visited Bro^r Jn^o ret^d home at 5 then to off: Cap^t Cheyne call'd & bro^t me Dr James on canine madness.⁶⁸⁴ we spent ½ an hour together & he went to hear a famous German preacher⁶⁸⁵

staid at off: 'till 8 then home.

Thursday, Dec^r 23, 1762

Rose near 8 – p 9 up in town & st^d at off &c 'till 2 – after din^r took walk – & ret^d home near 5 then to off: & p 6 went from thence to Room where Mr Cha^s Wesley⁶⁸⁶ preached – near 8 home.

Friday, [December] 24, [1762]

Rose ab^t 6 after a bad nights rest – at 8 sat out for Litⁿ & ret^d at 12 then up in town & at 2 home – after din^r visited mother & Rachell p 5 at off & st^d 'till p 7 then home.

⁶⁸⁰ See 14/10.

⁶⁸¹ Ship not identified.

⁶⁸² See 13/1.

⁶⁸³ See 21/10 and 23/10. John Durbin* was Miss Drax's* brother-in-law.

⁶⁸⁴ *A Treatise on Canine Madness* (1760) by Robert James M.D. (1703–1776), inventor of Dr James' Powder, on whom see 17/5.

⁶⁸⁵ Probably at the Moravian church in Upper Maudlin Lane, which Cheyne's* wife attended.

⁶⁸⁶ Charles Wesley (1707–1788), co-founder with his brother John of Wesleyan Methodism, had a house in Bristol at 3 Charles Street from 1749 to 1778, and it was his chief residence 1756–71. Dyer visited him with Henry Davis* on 5 November 1761, and when he died called him 'a man of real piety and in his early life possessed a remarkable genius for divine poetry, probably not to be equalled'. See *ODNB* entry.

[next 4 pages in manuscript are from a different year – see p. 170]

Saturday, Dec^r 25, 1762 Xmas day

This morn^g did not rise ‘till 9 hav^g had a bad night’s rest occasioned by cold in my head – near 10 call’d on Mr Penny (by appointment) & accompanied him & his sister & Mr Beck⁶⁸⁷ to St Werb^{ghs} – I staid at sacrat & spent afterⁿ at home in even^g went to Room & afterw^{ds} at Mr Symes’s & was inform’d that his youngest son departed this life this morn^g. At 8 home.

This even^g a most raging fire broke out at 11 o’clock at Alderman Barnes’s sugarhouse in Duck Lane & entirely consumed the same.⁶⁸⁸

Sunday, [December] 26^h, [1762]

Went to St Werb^{ghs} morn^g & afterⁿ where Mr Badderly performed ye duty both times Mr Symes not being out on acco^t of the death of his child.

In ev^g went to Room & heard Mr Hoddy.⁶⁸⁹ I have some concern for our fr^d Mrs S: may ye Lord be her preserver.

Monday, Dec^r 27, 1762

This morn^g electrised Mr Barnett⁶⁹⁰ – near 9 went up to Mr Eatons & we both went to Mr Penny & at 11 all three of us sat out together & walked to Fulligrove magazine & dined at Mr Georges & ret^d home at 5 in ye even^g.

May the Lord forgive mine iniquities.

Tuesday, [December] 28, [1762]

This morn^g extremely cold. Went to Mr Brown & settled with him for horsekeep^g to this time & afterw^{ds} took walk with him: then up in town afterw^{ds} visited Mrs Parsey⁶⁹¹ and lent her Storck on hemlock⁶⁹² – then call’d on Rach^l & spent an hour then to off: & staid on Change ‘till 2. The gentlemⁿ agreed to decline meet^g this evg – after din^g went up to mothers & st^d ‘till tow^{ds} 6 then to Room & home.

⁶⁸⁷ Probably Joseph Beck (d. 1793) of King Square and Frenchay, Quaker and friend of Sarah Fox, and a leading philanthropist. He must have been ecumenically minded to attend an Anglican service, even at Christmas.

⁶⁸⁸ William Barnes (d. 1767) and his son William were both sugarrefiners who served as sheriffs, mayors and aldermen; the father went bankrupt in 1765 but his son was mayor the next year. William Wansey*, one of Dyer’s employers, was married to the daughter/sister. Duck Lane was near the Frome bridge leading to Broadmead; *FFBJ* 1 January 1763 described the fire.

⁶⁸⁹ Not identified.

⁶⁹⁰ Possibly Ebenezer Barnett sadler at 6 West Street in 1775.

⁶⁹¹ Mrs Parsey was sister of Mrs Marston*, and probably the wife of Thomas Passey broker at 23 Old Market in 1775.

⁶⁹² See 8/9.

Wednesday, Decr 29, 1762

Rose at 7 & p 9 at off: afterw^{ds} at bank & met with friend Hawksworth there who gave me invit^a to his house. Staid at off & c 'till 2 – after din^r went to Brewh^o call'd on moth^r at 5 home where was Miss Sukey Cox & little Sam Dyer⁶⁹³ – p 6 at off & staid 'till 8 when went to Mr Hawksworth & staid there 'till near 10 in comp^a with Mr Hen Davis.

Thursday, [December] 30, [1762]

Rose p 7 – went to Mr Allison's p 9 & then to off: afterw^{ds} at Cap^t Garnetts⁶⁹⁴ ret^d to off: & staid 'till 2 – p 3 ret^d there again st^d 'till 5 then home ret^d to off & std 'till 8 visited my mother this ev^g. Narrowness of spt & c I've this day felt very sensibly but ye grace of God has prevented its breaking out. The Lord be praised.

Friday, Dec^r 31, 1762

This finishes the present year – may God grant me to be wiser and better as I grow older. –

This morn^g at 8 sat out for Littleton & ret^d at 12 went to off: & staid 'till 2 & spent all ye aftern^o at home.

Mr & Mrs Brown & Mr & Mrs Griffin⁶⁹⁵ came & spent the even^g with us, some part whereof was employed in read^g Burnham's Memorials⁶⁹⁶ – & the latter part in exhibiting electrical experiments. Lord make me thankful for preservation from mischief this even^g by means of spirits of wine being throwed on the chamber floor quite in a flame by means of elect ...

[Between 24 and 25 December entry are the following pages (out of order but this is correct order). From references in Dyer's epitomised diary, it is clear that these items relate to 1777.]

Saturday, 19 April, [1777]

Arose this morn^g before 6 o'clock: went down to the Col^r H^o⁶⁹⁷ & with Bro^r Rob^t & Joe weigh^d & turn^d out 20 b^{ls} brown⁶⁹⁸ to go to Dublin. –

Ret^d home ½ p 8 & spent the foren^o in h^o – went to Ch^{ge} spoke with Moody.⁶⁹⁹ Moody have agreed to the lease in manner w^{ch} I proposed. – In aftern^o went to Wind^{ey}⁷⁰⁰ & the clerk proposes our part of the lease next Tuesday ev^g. –

⁶⁹³ His brother John's* son, as opposed to his own brother Samuel*.

⁶⁹⁴ See 23/11.

⁶⁹⁵ See John Griffin* for various candidates, but also 19/4 for another possible Griffin.

⁶⁹⁶ See 11/7.

⁶⁹⁷ See introduction for the Colour House in Great Garden, opened in November 1772, in which Dyer had a half-share.

⁶⁹⁸ 'Spanish Brown' was the only colour made at the Colour House.

⁶⁹⁹ Possibly James Moody accomptant, listed at 34 Welsh Back in 1775.

⁷⁰⁰ Nathaniel Windey, attorney and notary public at 27 Corn Street in 1775.

After tea call^d on Mr Fry in Guin^y Street who has somti.. been laid up in the gout⁷⁰¹
also took walk – also stayed up in town – called at Adlams – call'd on Sis^r Sam –

At my return made a memorandum, life being uncertain, in what manner I choose to dispose of my effects – and should this & my other journals or dairys fall into my executors hands it is my will & desire that they be immediately burnt without being inspected by any person ... for my view^s solely and only penned for my own use & amusement – & further it is my will that my dear wife would give a book (any book which she shall choose) to either or any of my acquaintance by way of keep sake⁷⁰²

–
May Christ my redeemer shew that mercy to me & to all belonging to me as we need.

[Sunday], April 20, [1777]

In the morn^g awoke out of a dream wherein I tho^t I saw 3 mice each caught in a trap but were still alive – & I tho^t I saw Bro^r Rob^t with a trap in his hand with a rat caught therein but alive –

Whether it implies anything the Lord knows – May the Lord prepare me for all events & defend me agst all enemies whether open or secret –

This foren^o at Coll^{ge} & heard Mr Camplin in aftern^o at St Nich^s & heard his son –
Went into Castle Street & drank tea with SD⁷⁰³.

[Entries from William Dyer's epitomised diaries (BCL 20095), extracted from his original diaries in 1801, which relate to the year 1762. In these entries he often brings together material from a variety of dates following the first date recorded.]

fo 118

Dec 10th 1761 Sat up all night with my friends Geo Eaton Stephⁿ Penny & Cap^t James⁷⁰⁴ at Rich^d Gyles's at the Lamb Inn without Lawford's Gate where 3 of his children (daugh^{rs}) were strangely afflicted, at first unaccountable, but at length imputed to diabolical magic or witchcraft Decem^r. 15: I myself had a pinch on the knuckle of (I think) my right hand forefinger when at Mr Eatons where 2 of these children were at play. Dec^r 16, 19 and 31 are further details of this wicked affair; & in the course of my diarys many particulars are recorded, down to the times this deplorable affliction to Gyles's family ceased. See 1762 Jan^y 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9th & ye 11th the children were removed to no 8 in Lowdin's Court in Great Garden the 15th the operations began afresh at that place and again the 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 & 27th inst the 30 I myself was anguish'd by sensations of hands⁷⁰⁵ Jan^y 31, Feb 1, 3 & 6 they remain'd at Lowdins Court, Do Feb 7: the children remov'd from ditto home to the

⁷⁰¹ See 8/7.

⁷⁰² This note is presumably why Dyer preserved these pages pasted into his diary for 1762. See introduction.

⁷⁰³ His brother Samuel Dyer*.

⁷⁰⁴ Possibly Captain John James at 2 Montague Street in 1775 or Captain Thomas James, then victualler (at the Goat) at 81 on the Key.

⁷⁰⁵ This is not recorded in his diary for 30/1.

Lamb Inn without Lawfords Gate Feb 8, 9 further acco^{ts} on the 10 Feb^{ry} the Rev Mr Seyer propos'd questions in Latin & Greek & was precisely ans'd Feb^{ry} 11, 12 & 13 answer'd to mental questions see further acco^{ts} Feb 15, 16, 17 and 18 this day Major Drax visited these childⁿ on Feb^{ry} 19, 20, 21, & 22^d I went with Rich^d Gyles & with Polley to Mr Haynes's at Wick Feb^{ry} 23 her sister Doppey was also sent to Mr Haynes's 25 are remarks the 26 I visited the 2 chilⁿ at the Haynes's

fo 119

1762 Jan^{ry} 9th war was declared in Bristol against Spain

1762 Jan^{ry} 11 our opposite neighb^r Marston remov'd to their habitation, where she remain'd to her death many years after

1762 Jan^{ry} 13 poor Bro^r Johns affairs in disorder at his shop in Castle Street this bro^t Bro^r James from London the 1: of Feb^{ry} & on this day the shop was oblig'd to be shut Feb^{ry} 6 a commissⁿ of bank^t arriv'd the comⁿ sent for by Mr Brice undated entry Bro^r Jno^s affairs deranged his goods were sold, especially those for his wife the 8 March 1762

1762 Jan^{ry} 19 Mr Baugh's footman sickened in the small pox and died the 28th inst. Jan^{ry} 30 Mr Baugh gave me a pleasing acco^t of this young man.

1762 Jan^{ry} 29 Mr Allison and Miss Walker at my house she was (I think) niece to Mr Sanders in the Great Garden She left her lodgings at Mr Allisons 1764 March 23 in order to depart for Wolverhampton

Feb^{ry} 4 proved a debt of £40 15 0 due to Baugh Ames & co under a comⁿ bank^t against Hollis Saunders at the Nags Head Tavern Wine Street where the lawyers diverted themselves with the credulity of those who believed there was anything preternatural in the affair of poor Gyles's children. This was all owing to the said lawyers' ignorance.

Feb^{ry} 13 this day or yesterday died Mr Champness clerk to to Jn^o Noble esq^r uncle to Jn^o Noble esq^r living in 1801. Poor Champness's death occasion'd by a cold he caught in shipping men for the King George Privateer.

Fo. 120

1762 March I saw a mop stick made perfectly dry by being placed in or over an oven from which, with a piece of silk, I think it was, rub'd swiftly up & down the dry mopstick, electric sparks of fire, were excited.

1762 March 6th some unanswerable queries (written by Mr Stepⁿ Penny in favor of the afflicted family at the Lamb without Lawf^{ds} Gate) appeared this day in Sarah Farleys Castle Green paper, relative to Gyles's poor afflicted children.

March 8 Farrall & Jones's clerk applied vizt James Duffett & by his desire electrised him. He was hypochondriac. His body was bulky, but fancied he had no bowels; was for ever complaining of it in the compting house so as to prevent doing any business himself & interrupting others that were writing: insomuch that Messrs Farrell & Jones found it needful to dismiss him. They however procured the collectors place for him at the Turnpike Gate at Bedminst^r where his attention was necessarily employed with but little intermission & here he & his wife resided some years I believe till his death. & I have often paid him at passing thro' the Gate, but without hearing any complaint as formerly. He had no child.

1762 March 10^h Rich^d Giles's 2 children Polley and Doppey began to be persecuted by their invisible adversary at Mr Haynes^s. I now made them a visit. March 14^h I heard Mrs Haynes & her son had declared it is all a trick. The 30^h Mrs Haynes continued of the same sentiment, yet 'twas meer conjecture, without any discovery to confirm it.

March 20 perused some accounts of the primitive Christians having power to disposses evil spirits – but when do we meet with such Christians at this day?

March 24^h This evening the second son of Isaac Elton esqr of Clifton was buried. He has now buried 2 sons within a short span of time.

March 29 April 5 and May 26^h remarkable accounts given me by George Barnes, smith to a coachmaker. Barnes's wife kept a shop where he & she liv'd opposite the lower end of Gloucester Lane & adjoining to Wade Street. He was under great distress, being affected by an invisible agency. Parson Brown and I visited him.

March 31 an account taken from George Roach (probably the hallier) of the extraord^y transactions he saw at the Lamb, relating to poor Gyles's children.

April 2^d the 2 children remov'd from Mrs Haynes's to Nurse Cooke's in Kingswood the 6 April I visited and conversed with Polley the eldest who related some transactions whilst at Mrs Haynes's the 19 visited again April 24 Polley return'd home the 10 April is some account respecting the sale of Gyles's house April 27 Polley again persecuted as usual at home April 28 she was taken to a farmers near Henbury Apr^l 30 Doppey at home, molested as usual July 7⁷⁰⁶ Polley was remov'd from the above farmers & about the 8 July embark'd on board Capt Button for Swanzev from whence she did not return until the 9 Septem^r 1762. 1762 July 6, 12 & 25 Doppey at home under persecution as usual.

1762 March 20⁷⁰⁷ Mr Brown now soliciting the Corporation of Bristol for the living of Combsbury vacant by the death of Mr Taylor of Clifton, the last incumbent – given to Norman

March 22⁷⁰⁸ a just remark is made concerning impressions on the human mind.

fo 121

1762 April 22 Died Mrs Dinham, wife of Mr Robt Dinham at Castle Gate.

April 23 Dream'd of being in company with the Rev^d Mr Walker of Truro, who died sometime ago.

May 3 John Hill one of the workmen at Littleton and John Jones the old waggoner sat out with a waggon load of gunpow^r for Liverp^o and Mr Townsend (London carrier from Bath) also sent his waggon with another load of gpw^r to d^o. Both waggons return'd & arriv^d at Bristol the 22 May June 14 both the same waggons sat out again with a load as before & return'd to Bris^l from Liverp^o the 3^d July i.e. 19 days out & home.

May 8th an address this day appeared in both the Bristol papers, from Richard Gyles to the public, respecting his poor children. It was written by Stepⁿ Penny, of which I took a copy⁷⁰⁹ before 'twas printed.

⁷⁰⁶ A mistake for May.

⁷⁰⁷ A mistake for April.

⁷⁰⁸ A mistake for April.

⁷⁰⁹ Dyer played a larger role than that, according to his diary.

May 12^h Mr Will^m Miller permitted Bro^r John to inhabit late Knox's house at Clifton until a tenant offer'd and this day, in an extremely weak state scarce able to walk to the chaise in Cherry Lane Broth^r John, his wife & 2 children went to reside there, but see pa 123 where we had flattering hopes & 15 Feb^{ry} 1763 I solicited to get him a place in the Custom House, but without success.

1762 June 13⁷¹⁰ a kind of cold termed influenza very prevalent at this time & people in general affected attended with weakness & pain in the limbs. I had a touch of it.

May 15 Rich^d Gyles at the Lamb taken ill then suppos'd to be the prevailing disorder (influenza) but the 16^h he had an high fever with pleuritic pains & this night the 16 May 1762 the poor man died. It was strongly suspected to be occasion'd by the same diabolical power that had tortured & persecuted his 2 children – He was only confined to bed on the day he died. He was sensible to the time he expired. Mr Geo Eaton was with him at the awful moment & Mr Eaton was entirely of opinion poor Gyles' death was occasion'd as above. See my diary 22 and 26 inst. He left a widow & 8 children. Gyles had given an att^y instructions to make his will but was dead before it cou'd be prepared. The 18th inst the above opinion was confirm'd from circumstances mentioned in my diary. The 19^h May his corps were inter'd at St Phillips.

1762 Sep 9 Polley the eldest dau^r being this day remov'd from Swanzey. Sept 11 I was present when her invisible attendant was manifest by jerking her elbow when drinking tea whilst I was present this day at the Lamb Inn the 11 Sep^r.

1762 Sep^r 25 heard that both Polley and Doppey Gyles are now remov'd to a house at Kingswood in order to try whether by change of situation they can be rid of their persecutor Novemb^r 16 both children return'd home Nov 27, 28 is a long detail of the disturbance & Novem^r 30 these disturbances continuing Mrs Gyles very improperly applied to the cunning woman at Bedmins^r for her advice. Decem^r 7 this cunning woman (as she was term'd) attended at the Lamb Inn & gave instructions for counteracting that charm which accordingly came to pass, when this diabolical affairs expired; yet Mrs Gyles's serious friends blamed her for having recourse to a woman of equal bad repute with the miserable wretch who was the author in conjunction with the spirit of darkness of all the troubles witnessed by poor Gyles and his children & family. (note to see p 112 their grandmother died).

fo 122

1762 May 22 an excellent prescription 1 oz Jesuits bark, and ¼ oz nitre, boiled in 3 pints of spring water until reduced to half the quantity.

May 23^d Sunday Mr Pomfrey a young clergyman passing thro' Bedminster on horseback was met by a man riding full speed threw Mr Pomfrey off his horse and fractured his scull. He died the same day.

May 28 an emblem of my pilgrimage upon earth was display'd in a dream last night.

May 29 the living of Congresbury (solicited by Mr Brown) given by the Corporation to Mr Norman a detail is given in my diary of a report circulated by Norman in disfavor of old Mr Baddely who was now curate of Congresbury but soon

⁷¹⁰ A mistake for May.

after quitted it. Baddely intends visiting his father in the north of England about 120 miles from Bristol.

May 31^t died, I think at his house in Orchard Street Bristol, Thomas Knox esq^r. Late a bankrupt. His friend Mr Nugent had procured for him the collectorship at Quebec.

June 7 died Mr James Hilhouse who a few years since was sheriff for Bristol but became bankrupt a short time ago.

June 7 Willoughby & Berry insurance brokers stop'd payment.

June 16 Dominiceti employ'd Stepⁿ Penny to settle his acco^{ts}.

June 18 Being sultry weather I was much exhausted in a ride to Nailsey & meeting with no kind of inn wanted refreshment at length dined at the George at Backwell & have recorded the mercy of being influenced & guided.

June 18 experienced now & for sometime past perplexities from Broth^r John's wife

June 22 apprehensions of poor Bro^r Johns approaching dissolution. We had now some serious conversation by ourselves alone.

fo 123

1762 June 29 dined at the dwell^g House of the Mayor Isaac Elton esq^r by invitation; & the company besides consisted of Customs House officers, captains of ships, & tradesman; 60 or 70 persons in all. Out of modesty I placed myself at the lower end of the table which happen'd to be opposite to the Mayor at the upper end & thereby unluckily became toast master. I was glad to leave my station as soon after dinner as possible.

June 30 rode to Gloster purposely to visit aunt Uncle James her husband having taken it into his head to leave her. Here I met with Rachael Dyer a daughter of uncle William Dyer. I reach'd home next day the 1^t July.

July 15 Bro^r John had strength sufficient that day to set off in the stage coach for London and strange to remark returned the 10^h August in apparent health notwithstanding all our apprehensions of death a short time since yet this was only a respite of short duration.

July 20 I advised a person in the dropsy to take red cows urine.

Aug^t 4th Mr Webster from London I now breakfasted wth at the Pelican St Thomas Street.

Aug^t 8 died Mrs Pittman in Baldwin Street.

Aug^t 13 some remarkable expressions of my spiritual friend Rachael Tucker worthy of perusal.

Great rejoicings in Bristol the 14 August a Prince of Wales born the 12 Aug: 1762 afterwards named George.

Aug^t 19^h Sister Hopkins heard two loud taps on the table, an intimation she generally had given to her, previous to the death of each of her children.

Aug^t 21 I remark in my diary concerning two contrary wills in the soul of man

Aug^t 27 my wife rode behind me to Aust Passage where we dined & drank tea

August 30 died Mrs Morrish (late Miss Catcott) wife of William Morr^{sh} (in Temple Street) son of my old friend Mr Morrish deceased. She was brought to bed sometime since. Some particulars relating to her happy end are related in my diary. This Will^m Morrish sometime afterwards married a 2^d wife who outlived him.

fo 124

Sept 2: my dear mother sat up last night with Miss Hawkswell who is now dying.

Sept^r 2 Edward Searle, cooper to the gunpow^r works, in great distress. He owes Mr Berjew (apothecary) his landlord £42 for 2 years rent besides debts to divers other persons. It is proposed to offer a composiⁿ of 5s p[er] £ to his creditors. Old Mr Meyler is his friend, Searle's wife being his relation & Mr Meyler put me upon treating with Searle's creditors & carrying thro' his difficulties. Poor Edw^d Searle went to work for Benjⁿ Ramzor at Bedmins^r the 11 Octo^r.

Septem^r 3 the weather & the fields appear at this late time of year like summer

Sept^r 5 electrised a man of most remarkable weak nerves a journeyman to Jos. Coates my barber.

Septem^r 6^h with Bro^r John visited a Cornish man from I think Wadebridge tho' long since resident in Clifton keeping asses for supplying milk a near neighb^r to Bro^r John at Clifton. Poor Peglar had a cancer in his leg, very offensive, & he a miserable spectacle. I procured hemlock pills for him from an apothecary in Piccadilly London but of no avail; & being I think 5s a box, I was abused for my trouble.

Sept 7 St Nicholas Church being now shut up, Tuesday afternoon lecture was this day (Tuesday) remov'd to St Werburghs where Mr Brown this day preach'd said lecture for the first time.

Sept 9 Magnus Faulke & wife drank tea at my house. She was daug^r of Mr Braine peruke maker, Old Market.

Septem^r 10. Prescribed chewing a small quantity of Jesuit bark whenever the cough is troublesome & to remove costiveness take 1 oz cream tartar and mix with 1 oz of honey, taking a teaspoonful of this mixture 2 or 3 times a day. And for a cancer take 1 pill of extract of hemlock morning and evening drinking after each dose a decoction of elder flower, but the pills of hemlock are to be increased from 1, 2, 3, to 6 or 8 according as the patients constitution can bear.

Sept 8 mother Davies with Rob Davies wife & 2 daug^{rs} Cath^e & Hannah Davies, went in the Chepstow Boat to visit Rob Davies's wife's relations: & return'd home the 14^h Sept^r.

Sept^r 13 Tho^s George & his wife, who is Ramzors sister, are both now at Fulligrove magazine, having the care thereof, and the 15th Jan^{ry} 1763 the gpow^r comp^a having determin'd to discharge Benjⁿ Ramzor from having any longer the care of the magazine, for he declin'd liv^g there tho at first pretended he wou'd, yet constantly sent some person to supply his place, which was his design in now send^g George & his wife, hence the company fix'd Tho^s George to be sole manager at the magazine at 12s per week which George readily accepted and the 25th Jan^y paid Ramzor home to the 15th Jan^y 1763.

Sept 17th. Evans the carpenter brother in law to Sister John⁷¹¹ this day stop'd payment.

fo 125

Sept 21 Mrs Symes deliverd of a son who died 25 Decem^r 1762. Decem^r 21 Mr and Mrs Symes at the Hotwells with do.

⁷¹¹ John Dyer's* wife.

Sept 27 prescrib'd a hemlock pill of 1 grain to a child of 3 years old for a scrophulus complaint taking 1 such pill 2 nights succeeding & then 1 pill morn^g & even^g until 12 pills are taken. Octo 2: directed 1 pill of 2 grains of hemlock extract for 2 evenings & if no inconvenience appears then take 1 such pill morn^g & even^g – that shou'd the child be sick afterwards give it a little white wine & water.

Septem^r 30 advis'd a grown up person for a vomit to steep 25 grains of ipecacuanah powder 10 minutes in a cup of tea & then drink the clear liquor also advis'd 1 oz of Jesuits bark to be boiled in 1 ½ pint of spring water making a strong decoction, then pour it off & add ½ pint of port wine, taking a glass thereof every 3 hours. Nov^r 6 Mrs Gyles's daug^r of 3 years old reced amazing benefit from the above hemlock pills in the scrophula or king's evil. But this child died the 15 April 1763.

Octo 15 went with Cap^t Cheyne to Bedmins^r in quest of hemlock, where we now or at another day discover'd real hemlock & I took a root home & planted in my garden.

Octob 18: at Cap^t Cheyne's in company with the late Mrs Labbee & her present husband also Mr James Roquet.

Octo 19: heard Howell Harris preach at Mr Westleys room and 1763 March 4 spent even^g with Howell Harris at Rev^d Mr Browns Price the taylor in Small Street lost his wife. She died in child bed 19 Octo 1762

Octo 23 Baddely dismiss'd from his curacy at Henbury, for preaching the truth.

Octo 26 died Miss Roe in Cannon Street near St James Church. A child of God endured grievous pain with a cancer in her breast the 27^h some acco^t thereof. I had an intimation of her death, in a dream.

Nov 11 died Mrs Howell late Capt Williams widow & sister to Mrs Marston. [Later adds] This must be a mistake 'twas probably Howell's first wife.⁷¹²

Novem^r 17 about one o'clock this morning a fire in Unity Street, St Phillips Plain. The house where it happen'd was burnt down and worst of all a poor woman big with child together with seven children all perished in the flames.

Decemr 25^h Christmas day in the evening a most raging fire broke out and entirely consumed Alderman Barnes's sugar house in Duck Lane, going towards Broadmead, & near Froome Bridge.

⁷¹² Dyer's correction refers to later pages, on which he notes that 'our opposite neighbour in Great Garden' Mrs Williams heard on 15 April 1764 that her husband Captain Williams had died in Jamaica in January; she then married Mr Howell the taylor on 10 September 1764 and she died on 19 January 1768.

OTHER MANUSCRIPT SOURCES ON THE LAMB INN CASE

Rev. James Brown's letters to Lord Dartmouth, with enclosed materials, now preserved in Staffordshire Record Office (D(w)/1778/II i 812)

[24 February 1762]

My Lord⁷¹³

According to your desire I send your Lordship some farther account of y^e two children in this city, who continue to be haunted by some evil spirit as usual; I could send all y^e particulars that have happened in this distressed family since I last wrote to your Lordship concerning it, but think that y^e reading so long an account must be tiresome.

Just after my last,⁷¹⁴ I went myself to y^e house with a design to see & hear for myself.⁷¹⁵ Young Mr Durbin of this city, who married Miss Drax, went with me; he went entirely incredulous, even his own uncle's testimonies⁷¹⁶ were not believed; there were two ladies with y^e children to put them to bed, that they might see that there was nothing concealed; as soon as they were in bed, we went up stairs, & y^e scratches & knockings began, & y^e children began to cry out that they were bit & we saw y^e bites, & while we were looking on their arms, there were very deep indents from fresh bites & all the company were well assured, as their eyes were stedfastly on y^e children, that they were not concerned in it – soon after Mr Durbin took a pen knife out & gave y^e eldest child; she held it about half a minute, with her hand out of bed, & y^e 7 in y^e room saw y^e knife drawn out of y^e child's hand by some invisible power; then they desired him to put up his knife, lest it should be thrown at her, as many things before had been, & y^e knife was no sooner put up than y^e child cried out that she was cut, &

⁷¹³ William Legge*, second Earl of Dartmouth since inheriting the title from his grandfather aged 19 in 1750, was known as Lord Dartmouth.

⁷¹⁴ The events and people Brown* describes suggest that he visited on 17 February, so his previous letter to Lord Dartmouth would have been about 9 days earlier.

⁷¹⁵ This implies that the 17 February visit was Brown's* first. But Dyer tells us that Brown 'prayed' there on 30 January, asked questions in Latin on 11 February, and was there on 16 February: he is not actually named as there on the 17th!

⁷¹⁶ John Durbin's* uncle was Henry Durbin*.

as we were all looking on (y^e child's hands out of bed) there were 16 cuts on her arms, tho' her arms were quite free before, & the child cried out she saw an arm with a case knife in it over y^e bed.⁷¹⁷ Many things of y^e like nature we have seen.

Several clergymen⁷¹⁸ have attended within this month, and have proposed questions in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, & right answers have been given by scratches, nay y^e most low whispers have been rightly answered & questions only conceived in y^e mind.

The children were removed from Bristol Monday last, but Saturday & Sunday they were more affected than ever they were before, so that their parents were obliged to take them out of bed Saturday night & take them into y^e neighbours house but their tormentor followed them there, & so affected their bodies & understandings too that for a considerable time they lay senseless, as tho' they had been dead – but ye Friday before this Major Drax went with Mr Durbin, & while he was in y^e room the children were pulled violently out of bed, & when they were put in bed again The Major said they should not be pulled out again, & so took hold of y^e eldest but he perceived some invisible power pulling agst him, he was obliged then to take y^e child underneath her arms, to hold her faster, but she was pulled with such amazing force that it drew him down on y^e bed, & then a prodigious pinch was given him on his hand, that is black & blue even now – Saturday night when they were carried to a neighbour's house, something was seen in y^e room quite black which vanished at y^e striking at it; this four serious persons will testify on oath, & y^e person that struck at it told me last night, that, as she struck, her hand was so violently pinched that y^e blood immediately came, y^e mark of it I saw myself.⁷¹⁹

This affair of y^e witch craft makes a great noise here, but there are but few comparatively give credit to it – I have sent your Lordship inclosed what was in our last weeks paper concerning it.⁷²⁰

I am as much persuaded from what I have seen of something supernatural in this affair, as I am almost of my existence; & I believe y^e prayer of faith is y^e only expedient they ought to have recourse to in this distress, tho' they are continually trying some ridiculous nostrum or other prescribed in such cases.

If your Lordship is desirous of a more particular account than you have here of what has past, please signify your desire, & I will get y^e diary of some friend who has kept an account from y^e beginning.⁷²¹

If the children continue, as I apprehend they will, to be thus harassed, in y^e country – I will take y^e liberty to send your Lordship word of it.

I am, my Lord, with all possible respect and deference, your Lordship's most obed^t humble ser^t. James Brown

Grammar School, Bristol, Feb^y 24 1762.

⁷¹⁷ The details regarding knives on the 17th are not in Dyer or Durbin, though Durbin describes similar details on 2 February (p. 23), and Eaton's diary refers to knives on 7 and 9 January.

⁷¹⁸ These included himself, as noted above.

⁷¹⁹ Brown* is referring here to 'Saturday night', that is 20 February, but what he recounts resembles the episode Durbin (p. 40) describes the following night: see footnote to 22/2.

⁷²⁰ *FFBJ* 20 February had several items on the affair (see 19/2).

⁷²¹ Presumably Dyer, Durbin, Eaton*, or Penny*.

Bristol April 5 1762

My Lord,

I must appear rude in not answering your Lordship's last letter sooner, & sending y^e desired continuation of y^e narrative concerning y^e tormented children. I have waited for matter as y^e children have remained unmolested ever since their removal, as far as I can hear, and as to a continued account to y^e time of their removal out of Bristol, I could not have thought that I should have found such difficulty in getting it, as I apprehended many had minuted down all the particulars that occurred, but I find myself much mistaken; two or three⁷²² had done something of that sort, but very imperfect, & a gentleman that had attended most, & taken down most of y^e things that happened, is unwilling at present to part with his journal,⁷²³ fearing it may steal out into y^e world; but as your Lordship is desirous of seeing y^e whole account, I hope I shall be able to send y^e best that can be got in about a fortnight or three weeks.

And the beginning of this week I have had as convincing a proof of witch craft, as in y^e affair of these children. – Last Monday I went to see a man⁷²⁴ that I heard was much distressed; & I had heard sometime before of some extraordinary things that he had related of himself – He told me that about 6 months ago he had a voice continually sounding in his ears, threatening him with every evil, & harassing & distressing him wherever he went; for some time he kept it to himself, & did not reveal it to his wife, tho' she perceived a manifest change in him & an unusual dejection; but one night while in bed he found himself affected more than ever, not only a voice (a voice he well knew) sounding in his ears & threatning him; but his arms & legs violently pulled &c &c, so that his wife was awaked out of her sleep & as she found him sitting up in y^e bed, she asked him what was y^e matter, & who he was talking to (for he had answered many questions that had been put to him just as if he had had some person visible in y^e room with him) however he would not satisfy his wife at that time, but said he had been much distressed, & (she told me that that same morning y^e sheets were as it were drenched in water from his profuse excessive sweating); The voice in his ear had told him that he should have some ease if he would carry such & such things to one Betty Cottle's in Kingswood; he promised that he would, & accordingly arose, & went into the shop before day (his wife keeps a shop) & took a quantity of tea, sugar & money, just as y^e voice had commanded him, & out he went tho' not knowing whither he was to go, but the voice was continually saying, "go on, I will direct thee". When he had got about 2 miles out of town, he thought he was come to y^e place appointed, for he saw a poor cot & says within himself, "Surely this is y^e old witches"; for this, he was immediately tormented in a most dreadful manner inwardly, & was thrown into so great agitation of mind & body, as, for a short season, to be totally deprived of his senses & strength: however, this was not the place, he was to go on farther, & at last he was directed to y^e house, which he entered, & found 3 or 4 children about y^e fire, who, being asked where their mother was, answered in y^e paddock, milking; the man sent one of y^e children to call her, & soon after she came

⁷²² This could refer to Dyer, Eaton* and Penny*.

⁷²³ This seems most likely to be Henry Durbin*, but might be Penny*.

⁷²⁴ George Barnes*. See 29/3 for Dyer's account.

in, & did not seem at all surprised at seeing this man, (indeed she knew his person, as she served his house with milk) just after her coming in, he went up to her & told her he had brought y^e things, & asked her whether he might take them out before y^e children, & directly she took him aside, & held up her apron, wherein he put the tea, sugar & money, & soon after this, she put her pail on her head to come to town & he asked her if he should walk with her, so on they came together, but he could not speak freely to her, as she had her son with her, a boy, 13 or 14 years old, but he took an opportunity to let her know that he could not bring y^e loaf & butter she had ordered him to bring, & she made answer, “very well” – soon after they parted, & he came immediately home, where his wife sat with a heavy heart and swoln eyes, (supposing her husband had been gone out to lay violent hands on himself) she rejoiced to see him, & especially to see him somewhat more cheerful, as he indeed was, he desired his wife to let him have a dish of tea for he was much fatigued; & as soon as he had drank ye first dish of tea, all on a sudden his colour left him, tremblings and most horrible apprehensions came upon him, his wife seeing this, thought he was taken for death, & immediately went out and called in some neighbors, especially a good man⁷²⁵ to pray with him: The man soon after came to himself in some degree, & told them all what had happened to him, & he said that he had sold himself to y^e Devil, & then mentioned the things he had carried into Kingswood, & what induced him to do it; at this crisis, this woman, B: Cottle, came in with her milk, & y^e poor tormented man, in y^e room near y^e shop, immediately as he saw her, cried out to her, “Thou hast undone me, thou hast undone me”; she pretended to know nothing at all of y^e matter & asked him, how she had undone him; his wife made answer that by some diabolical art or other she had haunted him, & had drawn him that morning into Kingswood with such & such things; this she denied, & said that she had seen nothing of him that day, but discover^d in her countenance great marks of guilt, but thought of evading y^e charge, by saying that he was out of his mind, & no credit was to be given to him; tho’ when y^e company prest her on that point, & could prove that he was at her house that morning, she was at last obliged to own it, but said, “it was only what a kind neighbour might well do”; she was extremely confounded at this detection – but I forgot to mention a circumstance, which should have come in before; the wife & sister of this tormented man were so weak as to go to a person in Bedminster, a place contiguous to this city, who is reputed to be what they call a white witch;⁷²⁶ immediately as she saw them, she s^d she knew what they were come upon, to be informed concerning the author of her husbands distress & to get some relief; she informed them who was y^e author (Betty Cottle) & pointed them to a way of relief, which they immediately complied with & according to her order, bought a sheep’s heart & stuck it full of pins and threw it into a pretty good fire, & it was there to be burn’t to a coal – this they did, as soon as ye woman (who is supposed to be ye tormenter) was gone out of their house; before the heart was consumed this woman returned in a most violent hurry with all y^e things in her lap (this was about half an hour afterwards in which time she had gone near 5 miles) & threw them down in y^e shop in a great passion, saying she had never suffered so in all her life time, she had (as it were) been inwardly broiled (but she knew nothing of what they had been doing) – all these circumstances

⁷²⁵ Dyer calls him ‘a Methodist preacher’.

⁷²⁶ See 22/11. Dyer reports the burning of the heart but omits the story of visiting the cunning woman.

confirmed y^e many people present in their belief of y^e guilt of this woman – the man has suffered greatly since that time, but his neighbours (some of them) would persuade him that it is all whim & fancy, but he is fully convinced of it, & feels y^e dreadful effects of it, and I really believe it will be instrumental to y^e good of his precious soul, he was earnestly desirous of my prayers & joined with me I believe with all his heart – If I find any thing more worth communicating happens to this man or y^e children; your Lordship may depend on y^e most early account.

I hope your Lordship will excuse y^e slovenly manner in which I have been obliged to write it, & impute it not to any want of respect, but to the multiplicity of business in which I am engaged.

While I was writing y^e above, y^e inclosed was sent to me, I just ran it over, & can witness y^e truth of it

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obed^t humble ser^t

James Brown

If I have y^e honour of hearing from y^r Lordship again, would beg y^e favour to know if Mr Hill⁷²⁷ (my dear & hon^d patron) is in town, I presume he wonders he hath not heard from me, & I fear must look upon me as ungrateful, which I should be very sorry for – if he is in town, shall I presume to direct to him to y^r Lordships?

Extracts from William Dyer's diaries, sent to Lord Dartmouth by Brown on 5 April 1762

1761 December 15^h Tuesday⁷²⁸

This evening about 8 oclock I called at Mr Eaton's next door to the Lamb without Lawfords Gate, where were Mr Giles's 2 children who are reported to have been bewitched. Mary of about 14 and Dorothy of about 8 years of age.⁷²⁹ – I had not been there long⁷³⁰ before each complained she was pinched on her arm, & this was repeated several times in the space of half an hour: somtimes the print of 2 nails (as if done by the forefinger & thumb) were very discernable; at another time the impression of only one nail was perceptible. At length 'twas agreed to satisfy ourselves more evidently that this was not done by the children themselves, that one person shall cover with his hands the arm of each of the children from the wrist to the elbow (being the part which was chiefly affected) & which wou'd discover likewise whither any pinches cou'd be made on the part so covered. For which purpose Mr Eaton took one of the children near him but (I think) he covered both the arms in the best manner he was able with both his hands. I took the other child & covered one arm as well as I could with both my hands, & Mr Eaton's daughter Nancy covered the other arm with both her hands in the same manner but notwithstanding the child was several times pinched in like manner as before & the pinch was somtimes on the very part of that arm which was

⁷²⁷ Richard Hill (1733–1808) was the older brother of Rowland Hill (1744–1833) who was later Brown's curate: see James Brown*. Richard had become evangelised in 1758 by the preaching of Thomas Haweis (see 7/12) at Oxford. See *ODNB* entries for the two brothers.

⁷²⁸ According to his epitomised diary, Dyer's first diary entry on the affair was on 10 December, but no details are given.

⁷²⁹ Dyer has given the children their formal names in this beautifully written version of his diary, clearly intended for wider circulation.

⁷³⁰ Although Dyer reports these events after 8 p.m., in Eaton's version they take place in the afternoon, whereas in the evening 'nothing happened' save 'a little scratching in the bed'.

covered with my hands as also on that which was covered with the hands of Nancy Eaton. While my hands were employed in covering the child's arm I felt a very sensible pinch on the nuckle of y^e forefinger of my left hand⁷³¹; & thought it was done by some person present, but was soon convinced of the contrary. It is remarkable that when I felt the pinch I saw a small hand & arm draw away from my finger.

Those are the most material circumstances which happen'd whilst I was present that evening. William Dyer,

Mr Henry Durbin, chymist in Redcliff Street saw a small glass rise about two feet from the table (without being touched by any one present) & was flung at a person in y^e room.⁷³²

1762 Janry 10^{h733}

The children were remov'd from their own house to a house in the Great Garden, and remain'd there unmolested until y^e 15th in the morning, when a loud thumping as if done with a large fist was heard in the room where they lay. In the afternoon a hand brush was flung out of the stair case into the parlour by an unseen hand. Y^e 19th at night the children when in bed were pinched, & the nurse who lay with 'em, felt y^e palm of a large hand suddenly laid flat on her arm & as suddenly taken off again. Y^e 21st the eldest child reced a hard blow against the side of her head, & as she was sewing the neck-gusset of a shirt it was suddenly snatch'd away by the same invisible attendant, and has never been seen since. – This was done at noonday. In the evening she was twice pinch'd in the neck & the indentures of a small nail were visible both times. She also reced one or two hard blows against her side & sometime afterwards happening to stand behind her sister Betsey (who has never been affected⁷³⁴) who was opposite the fire & stooping to pick up something was suddenly push'd against Betsey with such violence as struck her head against the barr of the grate – Soon afterwards she complained of being pricked in the leg, which upon examining was discovered to be done by a crooked pinn stuck in the stocking with its point next the skin. It being agreed to part the two affected children this evening, Dorothy (the youngest) was taken home & Polley left behind. Soon after which the latter reced a pinch in her neck and at the samtime heard a voice say “well good night to ye” but heard nothing more of her invisible adversary all the night afterwards. – a black gauze cap which Polley wore today reced a rent (while on her head) 4 inches long. A chair was suddenly throw'd down, & a small round table overset. A net containing thread, worsted, &c which lay in a window of the stair case (10 or 12 feet distance from any person in the house) was observed to move, or rather to be gently lifted up, as if going to be flung at them, but was quietly laid down again. All which was transacted in open day light and that by the same unseen cause as before.⁷³⁵

⁷³¹ His epitomised diary says ‘(I think) my right hand’.

⁷³² Durbin (p. 14) records this on 5 January in some detail (e.g. the glass ‘struck the nurse on the hip a hard blow, so that I heard it give a loud report’), not entirely consistent with this version, as it rose from a ‘case of drawers’ not a table, and ‘about a foot’ not two feet. He adds ‘I then thought I would examine the glass, whether there were any wires or hairs tied to it. I then took up the glass from the floor, and found no wires nor any thing else; but the glass was quite whole, except the foot of it was broken, as if pincers had pinched it all around’. It took place ‘about nine in the morning, clear day-light, close by a sash-window’.

⁷³³ Dyer has omitted his diary entries for 16, 19 and 31 December (referenced in his epitomised diary) as well as his quite detailed entries on 2 and 4–7 January.

⁷³⁴ This clarification is not in his original diary.

⁷³⁵ This sentence is not in the original diary.

22^{d736} in the morning Dorothy was terribly affrighted when in bed at home by very loud thumping at her beds head & reced a deep bite in her arm which caused the blood to start. About noon she was remov'd again to her sister & just before her arrival Polley reced a violent pinch on her shoulder as if done with a large nail & declared she heard something pant like a dog who had ran itself out of breath, but no one else heard it, nor was any thing to be seen at that time. In the evening Polley complain'd of being pinch'd several times, & a crooked pinn was always found in her cloaths which cover'd the part affected. Ye 23^d several more crooked pinns were taken out of her cloaths with the point towards the skin. This morning much scratching was heard in the childrens bed before they arose, as if done with iron claws. Polley's cap was tore today while on her head. Ye 24^h her cap again rent as before, & several crooked pinns stuck in her cloaths as usual. Ye 25th much scratching heard in the childrens bed. Ye 26th Dorothy reced 2 large bites on her arm with much saliva attending 'em. Polley was likewise bit once or twice tho' not quite so deep as her sister. The ribbon of Dorothy's cap has been several times pulled off. Polley has been prevented knitting (tho' several times attempted it) by the kneedles being snatch'd away & throw'd underneath the grate. Both children when in bed this evening were several times bit.

Ye 27 Polley pinch'd a few times. 28^h & 29 both children unmolested. Ye 30^h Dorothy reced 2 bites between the shoulders when in bed this evening & laying on her back. Polley likewise reced several bites in her arm – Being myself alone in the room with the children this evening, standing at the beds feet with a candle near me, I heard a violent scratching in the bed as if done with iron tallons, which began at the bottom (being 18 inches below the childrens feet) and ascended gradually up the bed until it came betwixt the children, when some persons coming up stairs it ceased. I kept my eyes fixed on the bed but observ'd not the least motion. Afterwards being again left alone I stood at the bedside (the childrens faces being towards me) & clap'd my hands 5 or 6 times pretty loud & was each time answer'd with the like kind of claping ye 1st and 2^d not quite so loud but afterwards equally as loud as mine & it might have been heard at least 20 yards distance. The sound seemed to proceed from about 12 inches behind the farthestmost child. There was not the least motion in the bed at the time & it was impossible for any person to have been concealed at the side or underneath the bed without being discovered.

When all the family were gone to bed there was such violent thumping against the chamber floor (where the children lay) which shook the room & every thing in it.

1762 Feby 1st Polly reced a few bites on her arms

2^d both children unmolested

3^d Polley reced a few bites & some cuts or ridges in her arm, as if done with the back of a knife

4^h and 5^h unmolested

6 Polley cut & bit several times – scratching heard when in bed at night⁷³⁷

⁷³⁶ Again Dyer has passed over other diary entries, including a lengthy one on the 21st. On both this day and the next he omits the diary information on the boiling of the girls' urine and all references to questions asked by the family are omitted. A few minor details are also added which are not in the diary, such as the 'iron claws' on 23rd, 'not quite so deep as her sister' on 26th, 'being 18 inches below the children's feet' on 30th and 'heard at least 20 yards distance' on 2nd. These all suggest that Dyer was recalling the events as he wrote, not merely transcribing his original diary.

⁷³⁷ On this day and 8–9th Dyer omits all the questions he himself and others asked.

7th both children remov'd home

9^h early this morning Dorothy was conveyed underneath the bed (her sister and nurse being asleep) & when discovered said she cou'd not cry until they took her up, because an hand stoped her mouth. Polley was afterwards very nearly being pulled out of bed by the shoulders but prevented by the nurse.

y^e 10th Loud knocking was heard this morning against the bedshead & afterwards scratching as usual – sundry mental questions answer'd by the usual method of scratching this morning.⁷³⁸

y^e 11th both children pull'd out of bed, & were pinched with extreme violence during the whole night, & cou'd not be alleviated by removing them into different beds, nor by any other method which cou'd be thought of

y^e 15^h Polleys elbow frequently jerk'd up as if done by an hand, while she was sewing; & that somtimes with such violence as to runn the needle into her lip

y^e 16^h several silent questions exactly answered by scratching

19^h both children violently pulled by an invisible agent whereby 'twas with great difficulty they were held by several strong men.

y^e 20^h and 21st both children treated the same as above, which always begun as soon as they were in bed.

ye 22^d Polly removed out of town

23 Dorothy ~ ~ ditto.

Extracts from George Eaton's diaries, sent to Lord Dartmouth by Brown on 5 April 1762

Dec^r 14 1761⁷³⁹ This evening abo^t ½ an hour past 10['] o clock, I was call'd in by Mr Giles to see his child, a girl between 13 or 14 y^{rs} of age who was supposed to be bewitched. She was not then put to bed. Mr Giles took me up stairs into y^e room where she had been first tormented, & shew'd me the bed also, in which were then, 2 younger children, both girls, the elder of them between 8 & 9 y^r old & the other about a year younger. We continued in that room near ¼ of an hour during which time Mr Giles gave an acco^t in what manner the disturbance first began. By this time the eldest daughter before mentioned was put to bed in another room adjoining & my wife about this time had also enter'd the same room together with Mr Giles myself & 1 or 2 more of y^e family. We had stood but a little time round the bed in which y^e eldest daughter then lay, before we were alarm'd with an outcry from 1 of ye 2 children before ment^d that it was pinch'd as it lay in bed. Whereupon those 2 children were both taken out of that bed & put into bed with their eldest sis^r one on the right & y^e other on the left hand. Soon after which my wife standing by the bedside, & no other p[er]son then near her, receiv'd a grasp on the right arm a little above the elbow, which left a painful sensation the whole evening & her arm was of a livid hue y^e day following. A little after the two elder girls both at y^e same instant cry'd out & s^d they saw something

⁷³⁸ Dyer finally mentions questions 'answer'd by the usual method of scratching' (to which he has not referred previously!), but according to the diary Latin and Greek questions were asked on 10/2 and 'mental questions' were not asked until the 11th – in fact all the details he gives for this day fit better on 11/2. He also passes over the questions asked on 17–18/2.

⁷³⁹ According to Dyer's epitomised diary Eaton* had been at the Lamb on 10 December as well. Eaton's is our only account of events on the 14th. Eaton never names the children, merely giving their ages.

black & as big as a small puppy dog ran along the top of a high pair of drawers which stood at the beds feet, but no one else saw any thing of it. This was succeeded with scratchings in the bed which first began at the lower part of the bed, & seem'd to move from place to place; but was chiefly observ'd to be betwixt the two elder girls both of which frequently complain'd of being pinch'd; the youngest of y^e three not at all. The scratching was very frequent, sometimes gentle & sometimes louder, tho' the childrens hands were kept out of bed & when the least motion could not be p[er]ceiv'd on the surface of the bed. The 2 eldest children frequently complaining of being pinch'd, my wife put her hands into the bed, to try if she could feel the hand that did it. She sought for it but to no purpose, but in a little time she herself reced a pinch on y^e back of her hand, the children's hands being out of the bed at the same time & soon after she felt a finger & thumb rest^e a little on y^e back of her hand, but as if done by mistake, suddenly quitted her & pinch'd one of the children: not long after she felt something pressing wth some w^t upon y^e back of her hand, but quickly left her. Having been inform'd that some uncommon motions had appear'd the week before⁷⁴⁰, such as the sudden rising or popping up of the bed cloths whilst y^e children were in bed, I was the more attentive & curious to examine into the cause of any motions in y^e bed that appear'd like it. Therefore as often as I saw any motions in the bed, especially the lower part of it, I examin'd with my hand & frequently found one or other of the childrens feet, they at y^e same time owning it to be their feet & never once attempting to withdraw their feet or to disown it, at last I observ'd twice a sudden motion or popping up of the bed cloaths quite different from the motion of their feet, & also below their feet, on which I apply'd my hands & felt a gentle stroke (as of a finger) on the palm of my hand. But on clapping down my hand as quick as possible, I felt nothing under it but y^e bed, neither saw the least motion of any thing, withdrawing under the cloaths, & am very certain it could not be done by the children. During all this time the youngest of the 3 children was not molested, it was therefore thought proper to take her out of that bed & put her in another which was done. I several times put my hand in y^e bed, & scratch'd the cloaths & was answerd by some thing in the bed with such sort of scratches, tho' the childrens hands were out of the bed & their feet quite still & no other motion appear'd on the surface of y^e bed. Mr Giles' scratches in y^e bed were also answerd in the same manner. The bed whereon y^e children lay was then propos'd by some of the bystanders to be shook with some violence, on doing w^{ch} the scratching in y^e bed was increas'd to great degree & a squeaking heard several times, something like that of a rat. After this I went on the left side of the bed where the youngest child had lain & kneeling down put my hand in the bed betwixt the sheets first & feeling up and down in y^e bed for some time (expecting a pinch) was disappointed. I then withdrew my hand, & put it under the blanket betwixt that & the bed-tick & feeling up & down the bed a little while with my right hand I suddenly felt the weight of a large hand (as of a grown p[er]son) resting on ye back of my hand (the nails towards my wrist) & clinching, or as it were attempting to clench as suddenly withdrew. At that time I neither felt its approach^e nor withdrawing, nor saw the least motion in the bed-cloaths. The childs back was also towards me. The sensation appear'd as a human hand would have done upon mine with y^e blanket betwixt. Besides the childrens being pinch'd, they were frequently slapp'd on y^e breast loud enough to be heard into ye next room. As often as they receiv'd y^e slaps, they always seem'd

⁷⁴⁰ See above for his attendance with Dyer on 10 December.

to be 3 at a time, but by reason of y^e quickness of y^e strokes, it was difficult to count them, for they were given quicker (in y^e opinion of all that heard them) than could be done by any human hand. The children were now set on another bed, while their own was remaking & I being at a little distance heard the eldest girl had 3 slaps on her breast; I then went close up to her, to see the hand that did it (if possible) but could see nothing, immediately after she complained that her feet were pinch'd. Another thing very unaccountable was this, that while the childrens hands were out of bed, the forepart of their shifts, was gradually drawn down so low as to strain on each shoulder & leave their breasts this was repeated 4 or 5 times & tho' the motion of their shifts was gradual while drawing down yet it requir'd a considerable force to draw up their shifts again till ye w-ch quitted her hold⁷⁴¹; as my wife & Mr Giles both experienced. The younger of y^e 2 children reced 3 slaps on her pooter^s when sitting on the pot, to make water, while my wife was holding it for her upon y^e bed, the child's hands being on her knees at same time; on hearing y^e slaps I turn'd round & saw the child sitting as before mentioned. Thus scratching in y^e bed, pinching the children &c was continued this evening with very little intermission for the space of 3 hours.

15 Being inform'd next day that the eldest child had been struck down as she was passing along y^e room I waited on Mrs Giles a little past 3 o'clock in the afternoon & desired she would suffer y^e 2 children to go along with me into my own house (viz y^e very next door to Mr Giles) to see whether the W-ch would follow them. I bro't y^e children into my own house where they remained for the space of 3 hours (except a few minutes while they stepped home and ret'd immediately) quite unmolested; after this the eldest daughter was sent for home y^e younger went along with her. They had no sooner enter'd their own house but the witch began pinching them both; the younger came back to my house presently whither the witch also followed her, & began pinching her chiefly her arms. On lifting up her arm quickly after the pinch, it appeared exactly as if done by y^e tip of a human finger, press'd hard on the flesh, the blood being driven away, & a visible indenture of a nail left behind & some of those indent^s were deep as if done by a long nail. There seldom appeared more than y^e impression of 1 nail at a time. The elder sister staid at home near an hour, & then return'd to my house. She said she had been pinch'd frequently during all that time & the marks of those pinches or rather indent^s of y^e nails were then visible. These indent^s were so frequently repeated that (in pity to the children) I try'd what I could to prevent 'em, by making the children put their arms across their breast one arm upon the other & cover'd their arms & hands with mine as well as I could. They were then pinch'd underneath in those parts of their arms which I could not possibly cover. I then cover'd or clasp'd their arms from the elbow to the wrist with both my hands, then their fingers were pinch'd. I then made one of my children cover their hands & fingers while I cover'd her arms: the w-ch then pinch'd their legs. I then order'd one of the children to put on a pair of gloves but that was no security, her arms were still pinch'd. Her arms were then wrapp'd up close in her apron but that also was of no use. My eldest

⁷⁴¹ In these extracts, Eaton is much quicker to identify the role of a 'witch' than Dyer or Durbin were; whether this reflects what he wrote on that day, or a retrospective view, is not certain. Eaton and his wife also appear to have witnessed (or at least thought fit to describe) much more intimate details of the girls' activities than Dyer or Durbin ever did – there are no references to shifts pulled below the breasts or children's 'pooters' (presumably buttocks) slapped as they sit 'on the pot, to make water' in Dyer or Durbin. As the couple living next door, the Eatons seem closer to the family experience of the Giles' household than the others.

daughter (between 14 & 15 y^{rs} old) holding the younger of Mr Giles daug^{rs} on her lap with her arms around the child & having hold of each of the child's arms near the wrist, reced a pinch on the back of her & saw a little hand withdraw at y^e same time, tho' at that time there was no body else near them & she was positive the child on her lap could not do it, she herself holding her arms as before describ'd. The same evening I went to see y^e children after they were in bed, but nothing happened that evening, save a little scratching in ye bed & that not near so violent as y^e night before.

29: A little past 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was call'd in to Mr Giles's, some chairs having been thrown down by an invisible hand, as well as a large oval table (nobody then near it) thrown down with such violence as to be turn'd topsy-turvy, the feet uppermost & y^e carpet that lay on it spread smooth under it. Mrs Giles had just finish'd this relation & I had seated myself on one side of the fire, & her eldest daughter almost opposite me on the other, when a chair that stood a small distance behind her was struck with such violence against the chair on which she was sat, as very much frighted the child; I rose up immediately, bid her not be afraid, took another chair & sat down by her, putting my hand on the back of that chair she sat on. I had not sat long, before the chair on which the child sat, reced a sudden shake as if done by a hand, laying hold of y^e frame. Not long after I heard several pretty loud knocks in one corner of the room. Mrs Giles rose up, went, & open'd the door, to see if there was any body in a cole-house that lay behind that part of the room, whence the knocks were heard but there was nobody there. As she was re-entering the room immediately the chair from which she had risen up but a few moments before & w^{ch} stood on y^e opposite side of y^e Fire to w^{ch} I sat, was suddenly thrown down with great violence before my face. Mr Giles's other daughter (between 8 & 9 years old) sat at some distance from the chair, but not near enough to do it, was so terrified that she jump'd out of her chair with the fright. There was no other person in the room (except those already mentioned & the w-ch). There was nothing else material happen'd at that time, save, that both the children declar'd they saw part of a hand move about to different parts of the room, but neither Mr Giles nor myself could see anything.

30: About 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was sent for again to Mr Giles where y^e same table that had been thrown down the day before was then lying in y^e middle of the room in the same posture as beforement^d which had been thrown down as Mr Giles assur'd me by the same invisible hand but a little before I came into the room. It had been thrown down twice in about a ¼ hours time the first time only on its side. I had not been long in the room but a chair that stood behind a neighbour, with whom I was talking by the fire side & from which he had arose just before, reced a sudden shake, much like that I had describ'd the evening before, we were both a little startled, being very certain it could be done only by some supernatural power.

1762 Jan^y 2 Ab^t 1 o'clock this day I was at Mr Giles with a few friends waiting to see y^e issue of an experim^t that was trying in order to afflict ye w-ch.⁷⁴² During the operation y^e eldest daughter said she saw a hand at a little distance from her: Not long

⁷⁴² Although Dyer sometimes notes that urine was boiling, he does not specify, as Eaton does here that it was 'an experiment that was trying in order to afflict the w-ch' (see 2/1 footnote for this practice). Dyer does not mention Polley saying she 'saw a hand'.

after she rose up from ye chair she sat in & was observ'd by all y^e company to be black in y^e face. One of y^e company immediately went up to her whereupon she recoverd soon & said that she felt a hand seize her by y^e throat, & strangle so as to produce that effect. Between 4 & 5 o'clock the same evening I went in again to enquire after the children & was inform'd that the same child had been serv'd in y^e same manner twice that afternoon since y^e first time.

Between 10 & 11 o'clock the same evening Mr Giles 2 children being in bed by themselves myself with Mr W^m Dyer stood by the bed side & twice observd the younger child move from her sister towards the bed-side, she crying out that something was pulling her out of bed, which quitted its hold on our going up to y^e child. Her eldest sister was seizd by the throat 5 or 6 times & strangled in y^e same manner as before mentioned but on going up to her & lifting her up in the bed the w-ch quitted her hold. We likewise heard several times those uncommon scratchings in the bed much like those before mentioned & on our striking the beds-post would frequently answer with a like number of scratches.

5: Between 8 & 9 o'clock in y^e morning the eldest daug^r whilst at breakf^t said she heard a few words twice (at different times) whisper'd in her ear the first of which she s^d she could not distinctly understand, but said she plainly heard the word stairs & answerd me the last time (sitting near her) I will not go up stairs alone, supposing that I spoke to her. Between 1 & 2 o'clock y^e same day y^e younger girl, when standing in the kitchen (there being at the same time several p[er]sons present) was taken away by some invisible being, whose hands only she saw under her arm holes & was carried up stairs (her mouth being stop'd to prevent her crying) into an inner chamber. The w-ch then became visible in the shape of an old woman in ragged cloaths, a ragged cap & her stockings full of holes, with staring eyes & shortish (the child's own words)⁷⁴³ & told the child she would serve them both 10 times worse in 5 days time & then cry'd out a witch a witch & a casement being then open in the room s^d she would throw her out of the window, but did not. The w-ch then threw her down, push'd her under y^e bed & lay down by her, staring her full in the face & told her that if she & her sister would both come up stairs she would appear to them in the same manner, but not if any one else was there; the w-ch lay be her till such time she heard somebody coming up stairs, & then gave the child a pinch on the neck & left her. The child says it was the same woman she & her sister had seen some days before in their own yard, & at that time ask'd them some questions ab' their going into the country. The same child had been halled up stairs by the neck 3 days before this happened & thrust under y^e same bed, & kept till after much search she was found by her father & with some difficulty pull'd from under the bed, but at that time the child saw nothing.

6: This day I was inform'd by Mrs Giles's mother that whilst they were boyling the childrens urine (there being only 1 other p[er]son in the room besides herself & y^e 2 children) with y^e door bolted & y^e window shutter fast: both the children distinctly saw the appearance of a woman exactly like her they had seen in the yard as before ment^d

⁷⁴³ Dyer only refers briefly to the witch's appearance, but Durbin (p. 14) gives a similar description of 'a woman in a ragged dress ... the woman had a brown chip hat on, a ragged cap and a brown gown ... great holes in her stockings'.

first in that part of the room next the window & from thence she walked across the room, & after a short stay suddenly disappeared.⁷⁴⁴ The same evening between 10 & 11 o'clock whilst the 2 children were in bed, Mr Durbin & myself after waiting some time, heard one of the children complain that she was bit & on examining her arm saw not only the mark of y^e teeth of a very wide mouth but also y^e slaver or slimy spittle (as of a human mouth) accompanying the bite. This was follow'd by several other bites of y^e like nature on both children while their arms were out of bed, & we were both standing by the bed side looking on but could not see the biter. We then bad the child put their hands in bed under the cloaths think^s by that means to prevent it. But we soon saw that we were mistaken. The bites frequently repeated tho' their arms were kept under the bed cloths & (strange to relate) fresh marks of the w-ch's teeth, together wth y^e slaver left with every bite. We were so filld with astonishm^t at y^e strangeness of the thing that we did not count the bites that ev'ning, but we conclude that both y^e children reced near thirty if not more.

7. Between 10 & 11 o'clock this morning while the childrens urine were boil^s over the fire, both the 2 children said they saw a hand in one corner of the room. A little after they seemed greatly frighted on seeing a pen knife in the hand, which seemed moving towards them. I went near the place but could see nothing. But it immediately disappeared (as the children said) on my aiming a stroke at it with a hanger as near the place as I could by the childrens direction.⁷⁴⁵ This ev'ning while y^e 2 children were in bed Mr Roquete Mr Durbin, Mr Dyer & myself saw several of the same bites on y^e childrens arms. Some of them were measur'd 2 inches in length. But y^e w-ch not liking the company then present was not so mischievous as at other times, & was soon after driven away or silenc'd by the earnest & fervent prayers of Mr Roquette for the whole evening after.

8: This evening⁷⁴⁶ between 7 & 8 o'clock while they were repeat^s y^e experim^t of boiling their urine the eldest daughter sd y^e w-ch whisper'd in her ear twice at different times To night's a coming & spit on her arm soon after a frothy kind of spittle, which felt cold on its touching her arm. After they were in bed there being a pretty many p[er]sons in the room, the w-ch seem'd backward in shewing her pranks It having been observ'd that this was the case & in order the more fully to convince a gentl^m then present, who was very incredulous⁷⁴⁷, I desird him as he was sitting on one side of the bed to hold the hands of that child that lay next to him & Mr Roquette who sat on the other side to do the same. They both did so; I then took the candles out of the room & shut the door, but I had not stood long without y^e room before I heard one of the children cry out that she was bit. I enter'd the room immediately wth y^e candle & there was the mark of y^e bite visible on her arm as before ment^d. After that withdraw^s wth

⁷⁴⁴ Durbin (p. 6) was told 'Molly and Dobby had seen the woman that afternoon, and had been beat several times by her' but has none of Eaton's other information in this sentence.

⁷⁴⁵ None of the morning details given here by Eaton appear in Dyer or Durbin. As on 9/1 below, Eaton seems particularly interested in knives.

⁷⁴⁶ None of this day's details are given by either Dyer or Durbin.

⁷⁴⁷ Not identified. Dyer and Durbin both record sceptical people attending, but do not make the same claim as Eaton below that the witch was 'much quieter' if male bystanders were present, though Dyer notes quite often that 'company' often led to a cessation of activity.

y^e candle as before the same child reced another bite on her cheek, & a little after another on the nose. After this all the company having left the room except my wife and one other woman, the witch seem'd to act as if at more liberty & began scratch^s in or about y^e bed with great violence as if with the claws of a lion, & once lift up y^e bed cloaths as if done by a p[er]son gett^s into bed. But when the company re-entered the room, she was much quieter as if she was under some restraint or apprehension of danger from the presence of several bystanders especially men.

9: this morning before the children rose the w-ch was very troublesome as I was inform'd by Mrs Elmes (ye child's grandmother). The w-ch making several attempts to pull the child out of bed, it was with some difficulty the servant maid could hold her from being drawn out by the feet. After the maid rose the child stept into bed with her grandmother who assur'd me that y^e w-ch again attempted several times to pull the child out of the bed & that with such violence as to oblige her (tho' a lusty woman) to exert all most all her strength to prevent it.

I have frequently been present when y^e eldest child has been drink^s & have seen the liquor she has been drinking suddenly thrown in her face exactly as if her elbow had been struck by a human hand, at which time she said she felt something strike her elbow. On my applying my hand to her elbow to prevent it she would then receive a stroke on the back part of her head. On applying one hand to her elbow & the other to her head, she then could drink without molestation.⁷⁴⁸ I have seen her siez'd in the same manner while writing. In y^e same manner at dinner, the witch has been so exceeding troublesome sometimes that y^e child has scarce been able to get any victuals into her mouth with her own hands so that she has been oblig'd to be fed by others. This evening between 8 and 9 o'clock⁷⁴⁹ I stood at the child's elbow with a large case knife, while she was drink^s & kept striking all the time wth y^e knife near her elbow; her father at ye same time held another knife near the back part of her head. The child could then drink without y^e least molestation. This seems to confirm the reced opinion that w-s are afraid of edge-tools & capable of being hurt by them.

10. This morning I was inform'd by Mr Giles that y^e eldest child was push'd by y^e witch with such violence agst the serv^t maid stand^s before y^e fire, as to throw down y^e maid into the fire, so as to burn her hands.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁸ Dyer describes problems with drinking on 2/1 and 5/1 similar to this.

⁷⁴⁹ Neither Durbin or Dyer report the knife episode, but Dyer only joined that evening at 9 p.m.

⁷⁵⁰ Neither Dyer or Durbin report this.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Those discussed here are marked with an asterisk in the introduction, footnotes and in other biographies. William Dyer's own life is discussed in the introduction. Where others mentioned here are discussed in the footnotes, the relevant date is given. The likely residence of the person during 1762 (where known) is given at the end of each entry, unless what is known of their address has already been indicated earlier in the entry.

Thomas Adlam was a clerk at the Small Street bank by 1769 (when Dyer gave away the bride at his marriage), and later partner in Peach, Fowler and co's bank at 63 Wine Street from 1774, and may be the gentleman of Bristol whose will was proved 6 May 1801. Dyer first saw 'electrical experiments' when he visited Adlam's machine on 21 September 1758 and in July 1766 Joseph Priestley accompanied Adlam to see Symes's* electrical machine. The scientific lecturer Ferguson referred to him as a 'fine electrician' who cured him of a severe sore throat.

Henry Allen. In July 1755 Dyer noted that he had often 'transacted business, kept journal and posted ledger for Henry Allen clothier on Castle Ditch which continued till his intellects were deranged'. In 1760 he was sent to the Fishponds asylum of his fellow Baptist Dr Joseph Mason, where he remained until 25 April 1761. During the early 1770s Allen wrote many eccentric letters to the Bristol papers (and to the King), collected in his *Letters* (n.p., n.d but c. 1774–5), and advertised a book, *A Key to the Tree of Life and Immortality* (FFBJ 17/12/1774); he stood unsuccessfully for election as chamberlain of Bristol and then as MP in 1774.

Thomas Pearce Allison (c. 1726–1777) was a shoemaker (at 9 Horse Street in 1775, but also with a house in Southwell Street at his death), who left £200 to the Bristol loan charities in his will; he had been educated at Colston's Hospital. In May 1758 Dyer and Allison visited London together. From March 1755 until 1760 he, Dyer, Rowand* and Henry Davis* met regularly for religious discussions at various places, including the houses of the Rev. Richard Symes* and James Ireland (see 24/10). Allison subscribed to various scientific works including Lovett's* *Philosophical Essays* (1766). **Mrs Allison** (c. 1725–1774) died before him.

Jeremiah Ames (1706–1776) was initially a grocer and sugarbaker in Peter St, but prospered as a merchant and banker, jointly founding the bank at 4 Small Street in 1769 and leaving an estate estimated at £70,000. He was sheriff in 1742/3 and mayor in 1759/60, then alderman of St Maryport ward from 1765; he was a Presbyterian from the leading Lewin's Mead congregation. He lived at 17 Lower Maudlin Lane for much of his life, though before he died he occupied Clifton Wood House. His trading activity extended from shipping and trading in the main colonial goods (including slaves) through various forms of manufacturing to property interests both in Bristol and in his family's home town of Shepton Mallet. Dyer began working for him as clerk at his gunpowder company in December 1750. See his *ODNB* entry. **Levi Ames** (1739–1820), banker and merchant, was his eldest son.

William (or possibly Richard) Badderly or Baddily (c.1724–1795), curate of Congresbury and Henbury until 1762. William was a Brasenose graduate ordained in 1752; Richard was ordained in 1755: both are recorded as curates in the west country. William may also have been rector of Nailsea near Bristol; Dyer records meeting him at various times from 1759 onwards until the death in 1795 of 'parson Baddily the elder aged 71' who had several years resided at Nailsea. He clearly had Methodist sympathies and Dyer records that he was 'the first to administer the sacrament at the new Portland chapel' in Bristol in 1789. Methodist histories regularly confuse him with Rev. John Baddeley of Hayfield in Derbyshire, who might be his 'father living 120 miles north' (see fo. 122), but the Brasenose graduate was the son of a John 'pleb' from Cheshire, not a Derbyshire clergyman.

Mrs Hannah Ball (1694–10 October 1769) (sister and executrix of Thomas Goldney of Clifton) married (in 1739) **John Ball** linendraper of Castle Gate (d. May 1763) who had been partner with Mark Harford (see 9/2) in Robert Dinham's* malt distillery at Castle Gate where Dyer had been a clerk 1745–1750. They were Quakers.

George Barnes was a journeyman smith working at the coachmakers near the Boar's Head off College Green (Moffett coachmaker was in Limekiln Lane in 1768) and living in Gloucester Lane (close to the Lamb Inn) where his wife kept a shop.

Samuel Barry apothecary was apprenticed in 1744 and practised by the 1760s on St Augustine's Back and at the Hotwells (in Dowry Square).

Isaac Baugh (c. 1711–1786) was a merchant, master of the Merchant Venturers in 1759, sheriff 1748–9 and mayor 1765–6, then alderman in St Ewin's Ward. He lived at 4 St James Square in 1775. He was the lead partner in the Woolley side of the joint gunpowder company (formed in 1756), for which Dyer worked, known as 'Baugh, Ames* and co'; he had presumably inherited his share in the Woolley works from Edmund Baugh (d. 1741), who had been one of the original partners in the 1720s.

James Bonbonus (d. 1797) was a leading broker and trader in slaves, sugar etc throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and master of the Merchant Venturers in 1766. In 1775 he was a broker at 4 Trinity Street, with an office at 50 Corn Street.

Samuel Braine (d. 1777) was a perukemaker at 92 Old Market in 1775. One of his daughters was **Miss Braine** who married Magnus Faulke*; another **Miss Braine** was a friend of Rebecca Scudamore* as well as the Dyers. This may be **Elizabeth Braine** the first secretary and treasurer (as well as a member of the women's committee) of the Bristol Dispensary founded in 1775 by members of the Tabernacle congregation. In 1769 Dyer noted that a Mrs Faulke was 'sister' to his friend Stephen Penny*, so one of the sisters may have married Penny.

Henry Bright (1715–1777), from a Worcestershire family, was part of a leading Bristol merchant dynasty of the eighteenth century. He was first apprentice and then partner of Richard Meyler senior* (marrying his daughter Sarah) and they traded together in slaves, sugar and other West Indies commodities, as well as shipowning and banking; he was a partner of the Harford Bank and died worth over £50,000. The trustees named in his will of 1770 included Ames*, Deane* and Richard Meyler senior*. He was sheriff in 1753 and common councillor from then until his death, serving as mayor in 1771 and as alderman. He had houses in Queen Square and at Ham Green (from his wife), which passed to his son Richard, another leading merchant. Henry was a member of the Castle Green Congregational chapel. See *ODNB* entry.

Thomas Britton (d. 1770) was a millwright in Old Orchard, whose son Nathaniel was freed as a carpenter and engineer in 1774.

Charles Brown was brother of the Rev James Brown*, and by 1760 was clerk to Isaac Elton's* Brewhouse in Old Market, which he was still responsible for in 1778.

Rev. James Brown (1730–1791) was an Oxford graduate from Cirencester, evangelised while curate of Walter Chapman* at Bradford-on-Avon. He was in Bristol as a minor canon and preaching by 1756, becoming lecturer at St Nicholas in 1757 (when he married into the Day family of Bristol) and undermaster at Bristol Grammar School 1759–64, then vicar of West Harptree in Somerset 1761–5. The city corporation gave him their living of Portishead in Somerset in 1764, and in 1771 the Dean and Chapter appointed him to Kingston near Taunton (in place of his minor canonship), and he held these two livings until his death at Portishead on 6 February 1791. He was closely associated with various evangelicals, including the Countess of Huntingdon, and Rowland Hill's first curacy was at Kingston in 1773, while the future Methodist 'bishop' Thomas Coke was supposedly his curate; John Wesley met Coke at Brown's house in 1776. His daughter married the evangelical Sir Harry Trelawney, while his son James became Cathedral precentor, dying in 1798. Joseph Easterbrook, vicar of Temple, had been James Brown's curate at Portishead 1776–8, and Brown was one of the Anglican ministers 'most cordial in the belief of supernatural influences' who had agreed that George Lukins was afflicted supernaturally, but would not join Easterbrook in praying over him when he was exorcised in Temple Church in 1788; Brown was also a friend of the chief sceptic in Lukins' case, the surgeon Samuel Norman. During 1762 Brown moved house frequently, when not at West Harptree, initially living in lodgings at or near the Grammar School by College Green, then on Stoney Hill, and finally with his family in a house in Fort Lane.

James Bull is recorded as Giles's* partner in his flying waggon business 1761–2 and Dyer meets him mostly at the Lamb or in connection with the Giles family.

George Bush senior (d. 1776) and **junior** were linendrapers and silk merchants (at 44 High Street in 1775) whose business papers (1755–80) are BCL 23802, who may also have run the lace and silk manufactory of Bush and Page at 1 Clare Street in 1775, whose owner, George Bush, married the daughter of Dyer's old employer Robert Dinham* in 1782; this suggests they were Quakers. However, Dyer's friend in 1762 might be another **George Bush**, master of the Hoopers Company in 1765, who was a cooper at 2 Redcliff Street in 1775, who married Mary Bright in 1752.

Thomas Cadell, son of the mercer James Cadell, was apprenticed and freed in London (1728–35) before opening his bookshop, the Bible and Crown, 'over against the Nag's Head Tavern' at 8 Wine Street, where, one poet noted, at 10 a.m. 'Cits who nothing but their time to lose, To Cadell's stroll to stare and read the news'. He was Bristol's leading bookseller until 1789, publishing many local works, mostly from the tradition of Whiggery and old dissent to which he belonged as a member of the Lewin's Mead congregation; his will was proved in 1792. His nephew Thomas, son of the attorney William Cadell, became one of London's most famous publishers.

Rev. John Camplin D.D. (d. 11 April 1799) was a graduate of Queen's College Oxford, ordained in 1746 and precentor of the Cathedral by 1749, who held various curacies until he became vicar of St Nicholas in 1761 (joined with St Leonard's from 1766) until his death; from 1767 he was also vicar of Olveston with Elberton. One daughter married the Bristol clergyman, Rev. Thomas Robins (a Behmenist) in 1782; another daughter or granddaughter Elizabeth married the future bishop of Bristol, Robert Gray, in 1794, the same year that his son John, vicar of Bathford, died. Thomas Chatterton several times attacked him for pride, describing 'grave Camplin with his deep-ton'd note/ To mouth the sacred service got by rote'. John Wesley enjoyed tea and religious talk with him on 27 September 1784.

Rev. Walter Chapman D.D. (1711–91), from a leading Bath family, was a graduate of Pembroke College Oxford, prebend of Bristol Cathedral from 1746 and subdean by 1752, master of St John's Hospital Bath from 1737 and vicar of Bradford on Avon from 1754 (where James Brown* was his curate). Chapman (satirised by Thomas Chatterton as 'the Jesuitical, the small, the hot enthusiast, the crown of all') was associated with early Methodism at Oxford, and later close to the Moravians. He married Susanna Dingley in 1744 and their daughter Rebecca (b. 1748) married the Moravian portraitist Jonathan Spilsbury; in August 1756 Chapman introduced Bristol's Moravian minister to 4 Anglican clergy who were 'wellwishers to the brethren'. His obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* claimed he 'lived in habits of the closest intimacy with the late Dr. Johnson, Mr. Shenstone, and many other literary characters'.

Captain Francis Cheyne (d. 4 December 1766) was a former East India Company captain, lauded by a sailor on one of his ships in 1750 as 'the best and most complete seaman I ever sailed with'. By 1758 (when he was on the committee of the London Foundling Hospital) he had retired, and practised medicine at Abingdon 'with great

success', having 'cartloads of poor patients at a time', before coming to Bristol to lodge in June 1761, and practising electrical medicine like Dyer. He moved to Lyncombe near Bath after 1762 and continued 'administering and attending the sick poor' until his death in December 1766. His wife Marianna, who lived until 1783, was a Moravian, and Francis became one on his deathbed, with about a thousand attending his funeral at the Bristol Moravian chapel. It seems likely that the Bristol surgeon Francis Cheyne Bowles (1771–1807), son of Bristol barrister Edward Bowles, was related to him. In December 1761 Cheyne was in lodgings in Jamaica Street.

Joseph Coates (d. 1785) was Dyer's barber since December 1758, at a cost of 12 shilling per annum. He later established himself as 'a brandy merchant or vendor of liquor in Corn St' (wine merchant at 6 Corn Street in 1775).

Sukey (Susannah, d. 1790) and **Sally Cox** (d. 1787), two sisters, had known the Dyers for some time in 1762. Their mother refused to let Sally become Dyer's servant in December 1756, but she became servant to his father and brother Robert for 'many years', until the latter's marriage in 1775. Sukey married the watchmaker Aaron Austin at 95 Old Market in 1767; Sally married an apprentice watchmaker, Robert Pring, in 1779.

John Curtis was a major sugar importer in the period 1748–68 and jointly owned a slaving ship the *Juba* (see 13/12) with Thomas Deane*.

Hannah Davis, Dyer's mother-in-law, died 3 November 1765 and was buried with her husband Robert*. From December 1752 they lived in Lamb Street.

Henry Davis, linendraper at 11 Maryport Street in 1775, had been a friend of Dyer's since the mid-1750s, when he often met him with Rowand* and Allison* at Symes's*, and he, Rowand and Dyer were also friends and financial supporters of Rachel Tucker*, but Dyer did not agree with them on some religious matters and they drifted apart. Davis was also a friend of the evangelical James Ireland (see 24/10) and on 5 November 1761 Dyer went with Davis to Charles Wesley's house. On 31 May 1757 Davis married the daughter of Richard Hart of Hanham, and so became brother-in-law to Rev. Richard Hart*; when she died, he remarried in October 1761 to another Miss Hart, apparently not related to the first. Their child was Richard Hart Davis (1767–1842), the eminent merchant and banker who was MP for Colchester in 1807 and then for Bristol from 1812 to 1831. BRO 41593 are papers of this family, including a letter from Rev. Hart to Henry asking him to give his 'kind love to all friends whose faces are set Sion-wards'. He may be the Henry Davis gentleman of St George's, Bristol, whose will was proved 3 May 1802.

Robert Davis senior, Dyer's father-in-law, had been clerk to an attorney in Gloucester but then joined the excise, and was still working an exciseman in 1761, dying on 6 January 1765 (buried at St Philip and St Jacob's). He must have known Dyer's father before he became godfather to George Dyer *in 1744, six years before his daughter married William. From December 1752 he and his wife Hannah* lived in Lamb Street.

Robert Davis junior was Dyer's brother-in-law, but lived in London for most of his life. He first married in March 1756 (at St James, Bristol) and they had two children, **Catherine/Kitty** (born 12 December 1756) and **Hannah**, before his wife deserted him in 1763, dying in poverty in 1764. Robert remarried a Mrs White (with two daughters) and they had a son (also Robert). Kitty came to live with William and her aunt from 1773 and in December became their adopted child, dying aged 38 in 1795 still living with them. Robert's family had moved to Salisbury by 1772 and Winchester in 1773, but then returned to Bristol. He was clearly quite poor, and ended up in St Peter's Hospital (the workhouse infirmary) before his death in February 1780, when his former shopmen colleagues attended his funeral.

Mr and Mrs Day were related to the wife of Rev. James Brown*. Day was a linendraper in Bridge Street (probably William Day undertaker and milliner at 5 Bridge Street in 1775).

Thomas Deane (c. 1717–1798) was a leading merchant in the slave and sugar trades, who was sheriff in 1754 and mayor in 1770, then alderman for Redcliffe ward, and a founding partner of the Harford bank in 1769; in 1775 he lived at 35 Princes Street. He was a partner in the Woolley side of the gunpowder business.

William Delpratt was a merchant, shipowner and insurance broker in the 1750s, who went bankrupt in December 1763 and in December 1766 became headmaster of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in Bristol, a post he held until 1781.

Robert Dinham (d. 4 July 1764; will proved 22 August), a Quaker and partner of John Ball* and Mark Harford (see 9/2) in the malt distillery at Castle Gate, where Dyer was a junior clerk 1745–50. His wife died on 22 April 1762. Dyer reports that when Dinham died he was cut open by Dr Ludlow, who found a 'bag' that prevented food reaching his stomach, so that he had starved: Ludlow gave the bag to 'Dr Hunter' and it ended up in the British Museum!

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry **Drax** of Charborough in Dorset, had married first the 4th earl of Berkeley (d. 1755) and then, in 1757, Robert Nugent*, the M.P. for Bristol; in May 1761 her sister **Mary** (with a fortune of £10,000) had married Henry Durbin's* nephew, John Durbin*. **Major Drax** was probably one of her two brothers, Thomas Erle Drax (1729–90) or, more likely, Edward Drax of Milcombe Regis (c. 1726–1791) who on 16 April 1762 married Mary Churchill of nearby Henbury; he was M.P. for Wareham in 1755. The **Miss Drax** at Clifton in 1762 was presumably another sister.

Archibald Drummond M.D (1717–1801), son of Edinburgh's Lord Provost George Drummond of Newton, was elected a physician at Bristol Infirmary in 1747, serving until 1771. He was a Presbyterian, as was his brother **Colin** (1727–95), who left being a physician at the Edinburgh Infirmary to join him in Bristol around 1770, and was at 44 Queen Square in 1775. Archibald was a close friend of the Whig intellectual Rev. Josiah Tucker of St. Stephens, and a joint trustee with him of the will of Mrs Ann Peloquin, establishing a local charity.

Edward Durbin (c. 1687–January 1763), presumably a relative (but not the father) of Henry Durbin*, was a chemist, living on Redcliff Hill in 1761, who had practised in Bristol over forty years and retired for some years with a handsome fortune before his death. Henry Durbin's *Narrative* (p. 50) records that on 14 September 1762 Edward was 'seized with a palsy' when out riding, and that Henry Durbin 'sent for a physician and stayed with him till twelve at night'.

John Durbin (d. 1814) was the son of Henry Durbin's* brother **John** (c. 1709–92), who had been a drysalter in Temple Street, sheriff 1743–4, mayor 1760–1 and alderman of Bristol. The son married Miss Mary Drax* in May 1761, who brought him a fortune of £10,000 and an estate at Tuckerton in North Petherton, Somerset. He was sheriff 1774–5 and then mayor 1777–8 (during which time he was knighted for his loyalty during the American War) and again 1778–9 (as his successor refused office).

Henry Durbin (born c. 1718; d. 24 December 1798), son of a Somerset gentleman Thomas Durbin, was apprenticed to the leading apothecary Rice Charleton for £100 premium on 13 June 1733, and freed as an apothecary on 29 June 1747. He must have started work as a chemist c. 1738 (in 1788 he was said to have been 'in the practice of physick 50 years', though the surgeon Samuel Norman claimed in the same year that Durbin, as a chemist, 'had never practised as apothecary, surgeon, man midwife or physician'), and in 1743 he described himself, in a letter to John Wesley, as 'a student of philosophy for two years'. He had been a member of the Baldwin Street religious society before being awakened by Whitefield* and then the Wesleys, and became a leading figure among the Wesleyan Methodists in Bristol. He was a founding trustee of the New Room (witnessing the sale of property for this purpose in 1745), and as such was at the centre of the disputes regarding the future of Methodism. As a churchwarden and feoffee of St Thomas parish, Durbin strongly opposed all measures of separation, informing Charles Wesley in November 1784 of John Wesley's ordination of Coke as a superintendant in America; Charles shared Durbin's sense of betrayal and wrote back that he hoped 'I shall be able, like you, to leave behind the name of an honest man'. After the death of the Wesley brothers, Durbin and William Pine* led the opposition of the New Room trustees in Bristol to the establishment of independent Methodist chapels offering services in competition with the established church. His first wife died in 1759, but by 1785 he was married again (to **Alice**), living with his daughters **Hester** (b. 1755) and **Alice** (1757–1834) at 115 Redcliff Street; the eldest daughter **Mary** (1752–1786) had married the evangelical London drysalter John Horton in 1780 (the service at Bedminster was conducted by John Wesley himself). Alice married the evangelical bookseller and printer William Bulgin in 1787. Hester suffered from recurrent mental illness, which Durbin believed was possession; Dyer electrised her for it in 1769 and noted her illness again in 1775 and 1788, while both John Wesley (in 1786) and the preacher John Valton (in 1790) considered her 'deranged'. His will was proved on 16th March 1799. He subscribed to Lovett's* *Philosophical Essays* in 1766. Durbin's account of the Lamb Inn case, written in 1763–4, was not published until after his death, appearing as *A Narrative of Some Extraordinary Things that Happened at the Lamb Inn, Bristol* (Bristol, 1800). Durbin lived on Redcliff Hill in 1762, perhaps already at 115 Redcliff Street.

Kitty Durbin was the sister of Henry Durbin*, who lived with him until her death in November 1788. She may be the 'Kitty' of 23 May and/or the 'KD' of 30 September.

Ann Dyer, Dyer's wife, was born Ann Davis on 15 August 1726 (or possibly 1727), and married William on 23 December 1750. She outlived her husband. Her parents Robert* and Hannah Davis* were from Gloucestershire and she had an **aunt Mills** and **uncle Kemys** in Gloucester.

George Dyer, the fifth son of Dyer's parents, was born 9 December 1744 and outlived Dyer: he may be the George Dyer who in 1810 was chairman and treasurer of Bristol's Commercial Coffee Rooms. He had attended the school of Emmanuel Collins from 1753 before working for Meyler and White in 1757, briefly attending Abraham Gadd's writing school and then becoming a clerk to Meyler until he joined his brother James in London in November 1759. He remained in business in London until 1782, when he went to Ostend as a merchant, working there and in Flushing until 1794 when he returned first to London and then to Bristol, where he worked at the gunpowder office from 1795, acting as 'managing partner' by 1803. He had married c. 1780 and had a daughter **Elizabeth/Betsy** (born August 1782) alive in 1797.

Hannah Dyer, Dyer's mother, was born Hannah Fuller in c. 1706, dying aged 63 on 23 June 1769. Dyer records that his parents had been married 40 years, so she was married c. 1729, a year before William's birth, and had six sons between 1730 and 1747. From 1758 they lived with Robert* in Hillgrove Street in a house costing £6 10s p.a.

James Dyer, the third son of Dyer's parents, was born c. 1737, as he was 49 at his death in December 1786. He was a clerk briefly for Thomas Knox* and for the gunpowder office in 1752–3, before working for Richard Meyler junior* from 1753 to 1757, when he left without notice to go to Plymouth and then London. Here, through a contact of William and with Meyler's generous reference, he got a post at Beckman's sugar house in London, and was able to set up a business in London, which his brother George* joined in November 1759: they appear to have been in partnership together, probably as sugarbrokers, until c. 1770. James also organised the supply of saltpetre and other ingredients for gunpowder production from London for Dyer's employers during the 1760s. James married two sisters, the first (married in c. 1760 and dying in 1765) is not named, but the second was **Sally Griffin** (married in 1770 and died in 1773). By the first he had his son **Thomas** (born 1 September 1761) and probably his son **James**, while **Mary** (born 1772) was a daughter of the second marriage: all three children were alive when William made his will in 1797, Thomas and James junior having become partners in a sugarbroking business in London. Their father had lived in Tower Street and then had a house in Roehampton, but after some illness was bankrupt in 1779. Although he later renewed his partnership with George, by 1784 he was insane, being placed in asylums in Malling (Kent), Exeter and finally Salisbury, where he died.

John Dyer, the second son of Dyer's parents, was born c. 1733 and died of consumption, after many years' illness, aged 31 on 4 January 1764. He worked with William as a clerk at Dinham's* distillery (and married a servant of Dinham on

21 October 1753) until August 1755, then took up work as a clerk to William Miller. He left Miller's to open a grocery shop in Castle Street in December 1759, having purchased the city freedom for £20, but the shop failed and he went bankrupt in January 1762: Miller lent him a house in Clifton to stay in for much of 1762. His wife, whom Dyer never names, was the sister-in-law of the carpenter William Evans, but she got on badly with her in-laws, who clearly thought John had made an unsuitable marriage. Three children survived infancy. **Samuel**, born November 1756, was sent to Colston's School after his father's death and then apprenticed to a merchant in Virginia, where he apparently prospered, being still alive in 1797 when William made his will. **James/Jemmy** acted as a clerk in Bristol before taking to sea as a captain's clerk, dying in the West Indies in 1782. **Ann/Nancy**, born October 1763, first married a Mr Martin (died pre-1784) and then an Irishman, Colonel Sherlock, supposedly worth £4000 per year. John began 1762 living in Castle Street, then lived with his parents in Hillgrove Street, and then moved to the house in Clifton near the Hotwells.

Robert Dyer, the fourth son of Dyer's parents, was born in late 1742 or early 1743, and died on 21 June 1794, having married **Maria Berty** in c. 1775 and produced 6 children (**George** (1776–1798 death in Jamaica), **Maria** (b.1781), **Ann** (b.1783), **Mary** (b.?), **William** (b.1785) and **Robert** (b.1791)) still alive in 1797 when William made his will. Robert left school in 1755 and began work at the gunpowder office as William's assistant, eventually succeeding him as the company's clerk in 1768, a role he kept until his death, becoming a partner as well by the 1780s. However he also acted as an insurance underwriter, and is listed as an insurance broker in 1793. He lived with William until May 1758, then set up home with his parents, keeping them with him till their deaths.

Samuel Dyer, the sixth and youngest son of Dyer's parents, was born 10 July 1747 and died in 1809. In 1752 he went to live with William, attending various schools including Bristol Grammar School before being apprenticed in July 1764 to Samuel Hopkins* as a carver: this did not suit and he became a clerk instead. In 1771 he went into the leather-cutting trade, opening a shop in Castle Street as a currier and leathercutter; John Rich was his apprentice and later partner in the trade. At 17 Sam became a Quaker and was a public speaker for them, travelling in this role in later life, and earning a biography in their series of lives, *Piety Promoted*. In 1774 he married the fellow-Quaker **Mary Hebbard** of Yeovil and they had three daughters **Sarah** (b. ?) and **Elizabeth** (b. 1786), both alive in 1797, and **Mary** (b. 1779), who was not.

[Thomas?] Dyer, William's father, was born to a Gloucestershire family on 4 March 1702, and died aged 79 on 7 September 1780 (buried at St Werburgh with his wife Hannah* and son John*). His three brothers were **William** (d. Campden in 1758), **Richard** (a gardener, murdered at Campden in 1772) and **James** (d. Gloucester in 1786). He had been in the excise but was dismissed 29 April 1748, after which he made a precarious living trying various jobs such as running a school (in the early 1750s), keeping a shop and probably acting as an accountant: it seems likely he is the 'Thomas Dyer accomptant' recorded at 12 Hillgrove Street in 1775. Dyer frequently mentions his father's debts, including bankruptcy in 1760, and periods spent away from Bristol in Gloucestershire, perhaps to evade creditors. From 1758 he lived with

his son Robert* in Hillgrove Street, moving with him in 1775 to his final address in Dove Street.

William Dyer (1730–1801), diarist – see introduction.

William Dyer, apothecary, (d. 1805) was a Gloucestershire clothier's son, apprenticed to Francis Gresley apothecary for £50 in 1737 and freed in 1745. He established a business with fellow apothecary Standfast Smith on the Bridge, and in 1747 they started a colour manufactory with a painter; in 1759 he advertised as an apothecary and colourman, selling drugs, medicines, linseed oil and all sorts of paint, wholesale and retail. He married the daughter of Job Charleton, cutler, one of the original partners in the Littleton gunpowder business. By 1775 he lived at 5 Redcliffe Parade, though his may also be the business recorded at 29 Wine Street. He had several distinguished apprentices, including the natural historians Arthur Broughton (son of the minister of St Mary Redcliffe) and Thomas Webb Dyer, M.D; his son Colonel Samuel Dyer (1750–1802) was a well-known Indianist. The surgeon Richard Smith recalled him as 'a good general scholar, elegant in manners and conversation'.

George Eaton was appointed schoolmaster at the Quaker-sponsored school at Quakers Friars in Bristol at the start of 1760, which was supposedly worth at least £150 p.a., but did not turn out as expected. This may be why he also lodged and educated boys privately, while his wife (nee Phipps; her brothers were Paul Phipps and the excise officer Jamica Phipps) and her sister kept grocers' shops without Lawford's Gate and later in Old Market; 'Ann Eaton and son grocers' is listed at 34, Old Market in 1775. He subscribed to Lovett's* *Philosophical Essays* in 1766. He was very ill in 1771 and died on 19 March 1773; his widow, also a Quaker, died aged 73 in 1789. His four children were **Nancy** (aged 14–15 in 1762), two boys **Thomas** and Joseph (d. 1765) and a younger daughter who died aged 23 in 1772. In 1762 Eaton lived next door to the Lamb Inn in West Street.

Mrs Elmes (occasionally written as Nelmes in other sources) was the mother-in-law of Richard Giles*. No Elmes is recorded in 1775, but the will of a Thomas Elmes apothecary of Bristol was proved in 1777. Three people called 'Nelmes' are listed in 1775, one a Sarah Nelmes of 8 St James Church-yard; William Nelmes was a shoemaker at 16 Charles Street. Presumably she lived with the family in the Lamb Inn, West Street.

Isaac Elton (1711–1776), from the Elton dynasty of Bristol merchants and civic leaders, was the son of Jacob Elton, from whom he inherited the manor of Winford, which included the Littleton gunpowder mills. Nominally a sugar merchant with his father (their ledger for 1746–51 is in BRO), he was involved in a wide range of business including copper manufacture, and was the first-named partner in the Old Bank of 1750 with William Miller* and others. He was sheriff in 1743–4, mayor in 1761–2 (entertaining the Duke of York at the mayoral house in Queen Square), alderman of St Nicholas ward, and master of the Merchant Venturers in 1764; by 1762 he lived at 19 Clifton Hill, where he is listed in 1775, but he was buried in the family vault at St Philips. His wife was Mary Mortimer, daughter of a Trowbridge man, and his children included Abraham (an ensign in the Gloucestershire militia) and Jacob,

who both died in 1762, Isaac junior, who married a daughter of the leading Whig merchant Sam Peach, and Mary, who married Michael Miller junior, another Bristol merchant.

Magnuss Faulke was the Dutch mate of a ship, whom Dyer had known as a 'religious man' since 1757; his wife was a daughter of Samuel Braine*, and died in 1783 at Cox's lunatic asylum in Fishponds.

Pitman Scandrett Field was a merchant and dealer, whose ship the Sally was captured by the French in 1760; he went bankrupt in November 1763. He was presumably descended from the leading Quaker grocer of the early eighteenth century, John Scandrett, and a Pitman Scandrett, gentleman, of Bristol, who was a feoffee of St James parish in 1743. In 1771 a Pitman Scandrett Field 'gentleman of Frampton Cottrell' took a parish apprentice there.

Miss Fisher is an acquaintance of Dyer and his family, apparently living in Guinea Street, from whom Dyer also obtains over £41 in money to pay off debts.

Paul Fisher (d. December 1762) was a linendraper and shipowner, in partnership with Slade Baker (see 12/2) and William Griffin*. Clifton Hill House was built for him 1746–50, and he was a trustee of Redland Chapel (with Baker and Palmer*); he left the interest of £300 to support prayers and sermons at the new St George's Kingswood church of Rev. Richard Hart*. He left his estate to the city chamberlain Christopher Willoughby (see 8/6 and BRO 09467, 09471 and 09476) and his books were donated to the Bristol City Library (listed in BCL 23274).

Zephaniah Fry was a clothier or woollendraper in Castle Street, who moved to Fishponds before his death in 1787. He was a leading local Quaker and a foundation was named after him.

Thomas George, whose wife was the sister of Benjamin Ramzor*, worked at the Fulligrove gunpowder magazine and took over as sole manager there when Ramzor was dismissed in early 1763. He died in 1769 and his wife moved to London.

Richard Giles (died 21 May 1762) and his wife (never named; she died in February 1769) kept the Lamb Inn in West Street without Lawford's Gate, and had 8 children alive in 1762, of whom 4 are identified, all girls: **Mary (Molly/Polley)**, who was 13 or 14; **Dorothy (Dobby/Doppey)**, who was 8 or 9; **Betsey**, who was 7 or 8, and a 3-year old, who was ill in autumn 1762 and died on 15 April 1763, who must be **Jane Giles** buried 18 April 1763 at St Philip and St Jacob. His newspaper obituary calls him an 'industrious honest man' who died of 'mortification in his bowels', leaving 'a very large family which he cheerfully and reputably supported, whose loss the unhappy widow and numerous children must long lament'. He is recorded as local agent of a London waggoner at the Lamb Inn back in 1747, but he had only started the 'London Flying-Waggons (by way of the Devizes)' in November 1761, in partnership with Frederick White at the Warehouse in St Peter Street, and Lionel Lee, Thomas King and James Bull*.

William Green and his wife (unnamed) were neighbours of Dyer in Great Garden in Temple parish; he is presumably the William Green gentleman at 6 Avon Street in 1775. This wife, whom Dyer often treated with electricity for ‘universal rheumatism’, died in 1777, and their only child died in 1784. It seems likely that he remarried, as the Wesleyan membership list for 1783 includes a William and Martha Green gentleman in Avon Street, and in 1794 Mrs Green was one of the class leaders who supported the New Room trustees against the separatists. It is not clear if he might be the same as the William Green writing master and accountant freed in 1739, who took over his master George Symes’ school in St Leonard’s, and in 1754 cast his vote in Temple parish: in June 1755 this man was found guilty of an assault on a young girl, but William Green had a school at the Penthouse in the Old Market in 1767.

John Griffin, linendraper (d. 1780), of 16 Queen Square in 1775, entered partnership with Slade Baker (see 12/2), following the death in November 1761 of **William Griffin** (his father?), the partner of Baker and Paul Fisher*. Dyer states that John Griffin was a friend of Dyer’s friend Allison*. But Bristol wills also include a Thomas Griffin proved in August 1765, while a widow Mary Griffin had hers proved in 1775. Dyer’s brother James also married two sisters in turn, the first in 1760 (d. 1765), the second being called Sally Griffin (married 1770, d. 1775), but James was living in London, and Dyer never refers to the Bristol Griffins as relatives.

John Hall grocer is listed at 43 Maryport Street in 1775 and Dyer noted his death aged over 75 in 1784; John Hall was trading to Africa in 1759. Tyndall and Hall drysalters were operating in Wine Street in 1768. This John Hall may be the Methodist supporter with a house at Fishponds, whose wife Bathsheba’s (1745–80) funeral sermon was preached by John Wesley (who published extracts of her spiritual accounts in the *Arminian Magazine* in 1781).

Rev. Richard Hart (d. 1808) was from a leading Bristol family, his grandfather being Sir Richard Hart and his father Richard (d. 1752) Bristol chamberlain. He graduated from Christchurch Oxford and was ordained in 1752, acting as a curate at Freshford and Warminster before becoming the first incumbent of the new parish of St George’s Kingswood, created in 1759 to meet the needs of the colliers there: he held this living until 1805 and two sermons he preached there on *The Importance of the Word of God* were published at Bristol in 1766 by William Pine*. Hart was an evangelical, who as a curate made preaching trips in the country with fellow clergy James Brown*, Walter Chapman*, and Samuel Johnson (see 21/7), perpetual curate of Cirencester. Hart and Johnson married two sisters (Jane and Catherine Johnstone respectively); Johnson’s own sisters (Mary and Elizabeth) were prominent evangelicals in Bristol, and Johnson’s son married the daughter of Henry Davis* and his wife, Hart’s sister Mary. Hart often preached for the Countess of Huntingdon’s connection, along with George Whitefield*, and Dyer notes that in 1756 Hart ‘read a discourse’ at one of the Wednesday evening meetings run by Dyer’s friend William Morrish senior* in Bristol. Hart was interested in electricity, copying Dyer’s electrical machine in 1760, and he subscribed to Lovett’s* *Philosophical Essays* in 1766.

Salley Hawkswell is probably a sister of Richard Hawkswell, who was first deputy city chamberlain and then chamberlain (from 1773), whose father ‘old Mr Hawkswell’

Dyer records dying in 1768. The ‘Miss Hawkswell’ dying on 2 September is probably **Elizabeth** Hawkswell of St James, who was buried at St Philip and St Jacob on 9 September 1762; if Elizabeth was the older sister, then following her death Salley would have been referred to as ‘Miss Hawkswell’ when Dyer treated her on 7 and 9 October.

Abraham Richard Hawksworth (d. 1768) and his cousin Walter (1682–1762) were both eminent Quakers; family papers are in BRO 09472 and Hawksworth’s correspondence with James Dallaway (see 7/10) is in the Bodleian Library Oxford (MS Don d. 187). His poetry was published as *Breathings of a Pious Soul* (n.p., n.d.) and after his death Sarah Farley in Bristol published two editions of *Elegiac and Other Poems. By several hands. Gratefully inscribed to the honoured memory of a late eminently valuable citizen of the city of Bristol, Abraham Richard Hawksworth, late treasurer to the infirmary of the said city, and one of the people called Quakers. Wherein is exhibited a View of his Life, As an accomplished Model for the universal Imitation of Mankind*. Dyer noted when Hawksworth died that they had been ‘quite intimate after his conversion to being a serious Christian’ (but before his brief marriage to Lydia Waring in 1768), and in March 1761, when they met at Rachel Tucker’s*, Dyer noted ‘His heart was enlarged insomuch that any person even who had the reality of Christianity, were their external profession or mode of worship whatever it might be, was acceptable to him, he himself being turned from darkness to light, from under the power of Satan to serve the true God.’

Thomas Haynes (1699–1776) was the son of Richard Haynes (d. 1727) and father, by his wife **Sarah** (1702–1788), of **Richard** (1737–1816). They were lords of the manor of Wick and Abson and had large estates in Gloucestershire, where they were all J.P.s.; family papers can be found in BRO HA/ and 8019 and 09701. Thomas’s father, who was from Bristol, was a Tory antiquarian and supporter of the S.P.C.K. and local charity schools and Thomas seems to have inherited his Christian piety. The *Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1776 (p. 571) has a poem by W.O. of Marshfield on ‘the justly lamented death of Thomas Haynes esq. of Wick’ noting ‘his life was formed upon the Christian plan’.

Elizabeth Hemmings (or Emmings) (b. c. 1719), ‘Mr Sartain’s sister’, identified as a widow aged 43 and living in Mangotsfield, was suspected by the Giles* family as the witch hired for ten guineas p.a. by William James* in the Lamb Inn case. The **Sartain family** were linked with James, who named his son John Sartain James. A John Sartain of ‘Mangersfield’ is recorded in 1729, and the will of Samuel Sartain gentleman of Mangotsfield was proved on 6 June 1767. This is probably the Samuel Sartain who ran the London carrier service to Bristol from the Three Cups in Bread Street London in 1755, although at that date they ran to the Ware-House in Peter Street Bristol (one of the places from which Giles’ rival service was to run in 1761) and James is not mentioned. It seems likely that Elizabeth Hemmings was Samuel Sartain’s sister, in which case she was hardly the impoverished old woman whom the Giles children seem to have imagined tormenting them. Several Hemmings are recorded in Mangotsfield at this period, with John Hemmings (married to Hannah Amesbury) baptising numerous children there between 1750 and 1765, while a broadsheet, undated but referring to an accident in a coalmine in Kingswood in 1762,

was printed for one of the miners involved, a Thomas Hemmings of Mangotsfield: *Full and True Account of the Wonderful Deliverance of Three Men and a Boy, who were Ten Days and Nineteen Hours in a Dark Cavern of the Earth, Thirty Nine Fathoms Deep; with the prayer they used, and manner of deliverance and preservation out of the pit.* A Michael Hemmings was a carpenter involved in building work in Walcot/Bath from 1767, and this may have involved working with the several Sartains based in Bath at this period, who also became active in Bath building work in the later eighteenth century.

Hannah Hopkins was the older sister of Dyer's wife Ann*, born in Gloucester 9 May 1725 as Hannah Davis. She worked for Mr Gresley's family in Queen Square before she married Samuel Hopkins* in December 1751 and they had two daughters, **Nancy** (who in 1789 married a Frenchman called Lanchnierk who made embroidery patterns) and **Hannah**. In 1766 the family moved to London, where Hannah senior died on 28 September 1791, aged 66.

Samuel Hopkins was Dyer's wife's brother-in-law, having married **Hannah*** on December 1751. He was born 13 December 1729 and was officially a carver by trade, taking William's brother Samuel* apprentice (briefly) to learn 'drawing, carving etc' in June 1764. However while in Bristol he and Hannah opened an earthenware shop in Maryport Street, and in 1766 they moved to London: his business there is unclear, but he appears to have conducted some kind of medical practice, perhaps as well as carving. In later life he was in poverty, and William tried to get him into an almshouse prior to his death on 29 May 1801.

William Hopkins was a leading carpenter (partner of the city carpenter Millard) based at 88 Thomas Street in 1775, and a Wesleyan Methodist, acting as a New Room trustee with Henry Durbin* in 1784. Dyer records that for some time from May 1755 'Mr and Mrs Hopkins' had met at Dyer's house 'on a religious account' on Wednesday evenings and Sundays, then later at Hopkins' house, joined by Allison*. References in 1762 to 'Mr' and 'Mrs Hopkins' are to this William and his wife, rather than to Samuel* and Hannah* (whom Dyer calls 'Brother' and 'Sister' Hopkins); there is no indication whether William and Samuel were related. Dyer records 'Mr and Mrs Hopkins' moved to a new house in Cherry Lane (off North Street, St James) in 1754.

William James (c. 1712–1787) operated a wagon and carrying service from Bristol to London from 1758 or earlier; in 1775 he is listed as London carrier at 76 Old Market. His will was proved on 14 December 1787 and his monument in the nave of St Philip and St Jacob records his death aged 75 on 5 February 1787 as well as the deaths of his father John (from Hereford) aged 82 on 12 February 1762, his wife Elizabeth aged 78 in 1798, six infant children and two adult sons (Rev. Edward Evans James aged 23 in 1771 and William James aged 25 in 1777 in the East Indies). In 1763 one of his clerks (William Dawson) stole £1700–1800 in cash from the wagons and a silver watch from James, for which he was tried in 1764. In 1771 he held the mortgage of Joseph Mason's lunatic asylum at Stapleton. In 1773 the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported enthusiastically on the support given by William James and son (Bath and Bristol carriers) for trials on new rollers for wagons. The son was probably **John Sartain James** who by the 1780s was running the wagon service from London

to Bath and Bristol and in 1796 is named one of the sons and residuary legatees of William James, along with his brother the Rev. Samuel James of Radstock. James was already based in the Old Market in 1762, presumably at no. 76.

Thomas Knox (d. May 1762) was a major Virginia merchant and tobacco importer between 1748 and 1761, when he was bankrupted on 14 December. He had served as sheriff 1754–5 and been a partner in the Old Bank from its start in 1750. Dyer's brother James* had gone to serve in his compting house in November 1752 but 'next day Mr Knox sent me a letter to say he would not do for him thus ended his servitude there'. With the aid of the MP Robert Nugent*, the bankrupt Knox was made collector of customs of Quebec and all Canada, but died (before he could leave Bristol) at his house in Orchard Street, which was on sale to meet his debts along with his other house in Clifton near the Hotwells, into which Dyer's brother John* was allowed to move by its purchaser, William Miller*.

James Laroche and his son, also **James**, were leading figures in the Bristol slave trade and sugar importers. The father (sheriff 1734–5, mayor 1750–1 and master of the Merchant Venturers 1751–2) died in 1770, while the son was sheriff 1764–5 and, despite bankruptcy in 1778, became master of the Merchant Venturers in 1782. He was M.P. for Bodmin 1768–80 and lived on his estate at Over in Gloucestershire in 1775, gaining a baronetcy the following year for his loyalty to the government; he died in 1804.

Rev. William Law (1686–1761) was a non-juring clergyman, made famous by his *Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729). From 1737 his writings such as *The Spirit of Prayer* (1749–50) and *The Spirit of Love* (1752–4) were shaped by his discovery of the German mystic Jacob Boehme (see 10/12). John Wesley was deeply ambivalent about Law, especially his later mysticism, but his *An Extract from the Rev. Mr. Law's Later Works* (1768) spread their influence among Methodists. Dyer had bought *The Spirit of Prayer*, and on 17 May 1760 bought *A Collection of Letters* (see 3/4) 'which so attracted my attention that I staid at home retired in my little room purposely to avoid interruption at the powder office several afternoons, in order to give the same a serious perusal'. He noted on 9 April 1761 'died that great and good man William Law' and transcribed a *London Evening Post* account of him into his diary on 18 April; later in life he bought the 9-volume edition of Law's works published in 1762. See *ODNB* entry.

William Legge (1731–1801), second earl of Dartmouth, was a leading supporter of the evangelicals from 1757 onwards, though he remained committed to the Church of England. He joined the cabinet in 1765 and later served under his stepbrother, Lord North. See *ODNB* entry.

Richard Lovett (1692–1780) was a lay clerk at Worcester Cathedral, who published a series of works on electricity starting with *The Subtil Medium Proved* (1756), then *Sir Isaac Newton's Aether Realised, or, The second part of the subtil medium proved and electricity rendered useful* (1759) and then *Philosophical Essays* (Worcester, 1766), to which many of Dyer's friends subscribed. Dyer visited him at Worcester in 1760 and again in 1764. See *ODNB* entry.

Mr Marston and his wife (1725–1797) were neighbours of the Dyers in Great Garden and in 1760 Dyer was godfather to their son **William**, later apprenticed to a cabinet maker; another son **Robert** (d. 1796) assisted Dyer at Littleton in 1767 and became assistant clerk to Robert Dyer* at the gunpowder office in 1768, though by 1775 he is presumably the Robert Marston glassmaker at 12 Tower Street (in Great Garden). On 25 October 1760 Dyer had drunk tea at Mrs Marston's with John Wesley, who records meeting a 'sister Marston' in 1783 and 1790 and a Mrs Marston is one of the Methodist class leaders who supported the New Room trustees in 1794. However, they may also have been Moravians, as a 'Sister Marsden' was reportedly the first Moravian in Bristol, moving from London in 1742, and in April 1767 the Moravians mourned the death of 'our good old respectable Father Marston'.

Richard Meyler senior (1685–1772) was initially a cooper, but became a West India merchant and major sugar importer, in partnership largely with Henry Bright* from the 1720s; his will was proved on 26 May 1773, and he left a fortune estimated at £30,000. He was a member of the Congregationalist Castle Green meeting. His nephew and apprentice **Richard Meyler junior** (d. 1787) was a sugar broker initially, but in 1757 his uncle retired and he took over the business, taking into partnership his former clerk Maxse and in 1775 Meyler and Maxse West India brokers were at 17 in the Exchange; he died in June 1787 and his will was proved on 10 November. Both James* and George Dyer* started out as his clerks in the 1750s.

William Miller (c.1699–1781) was a grocer, merchant and partner in the Littleton part of the gunpowder company, who died on 26 January 1781 leaving the huge fortune of £190,000, with a will proved on 25 September 1782; Dyer was given power of attorney over this massively complex estate and it proved a defining feature of the rest of his life. Dyer's brother John* became a clerk of Miller's in September 1755, leaving him in 1759 to open a shop; after John's bankruptcy Miller offered him the chance to stay in Thomas Knox's* former house in Clifton for free until suitable tenant was found.

William Morrish senior (d. 11 November 1760) and **junior** (d. February 1769) both lived in Temple Street. The father, an excise officer then a woolstapler, was an 'old friend' of Dyer's, who married the **widow Sellick**, who kept an apothecary's shop, in 1751; she outlived him by 18 years, receiving support from the Helpful Society (see 6/1) and dying only in June 1778. The father ran non-denominational religious meetings at his home in the 1750s, which Dyer often attended (see introduction); he may be the Mr or Brother Morris whom John Wesley visited several times in 1739–40. The son was a schoolmaster, who advertised a school in the Old Market in 1761 and then, following bankruptcy, a new school near the Bell in Temple Street, where he offered education in the 3Rs for 6s per quarter. His first wife, **Hannah** (nee Catcott), died after childbirth on 30 August 1762, and Dyer records her 'happy end'; he remarried and his second wife continued his school at his death and is probably the Mary Morrish with a school at Cathay recorded as a Wesleyan member in 1783.

Robert Nugent (1709–1788) (later Lord Clare then Earl Nugent) was the Whig M.P. for Bristol from 1754 until 1774. See *ODNB* entry. Dyer had canvassed votes for him

in 1754 (on his employers' instructions), and when he lost in 1774 Dyer was disappointed and called him 'a most useful man'.

George Packer and his wife lived near Whitefield's* room at Kingswood and were friends of the Rev. James Brown*. In August 1761 Dyer paid 4s 6d per week for his young brother Samuel* to stay there for a month for a change of air and he returned better. In October 1761 the Packers' daughter **Sally**, who had erysipelas, was brought as a patient to Captain Cheyne* at his lodgings in Jamaica Street, but after initial recovery under his management her condition clearly worsened in 1762 and her family took her home, to Dyer's disgust.

John Palmer (d. 1765) was the son of a Bristol merchant tailor, apprenticed to the leading Bristol bookseller Benjamin Hickey in 1738, and running a shop with Hickey 1746–50. His shop from 1750 onwards was the Homer's Head in Wine Street, opposite the Guard House. Dyer clearly preferred Palmer's bookshop to its several rivals (notably Cadell's* or Williams'*) as a place to browse, and Palmer lent him books; his shop was also the central location for taking subscriptions for the collection of sufferers of fire in Unity Street started by Symes*, and the outgoings from the funds included £1 to Palmer for 5 Bibles for the poor people afflicted (see 20/11). He and his father (also John) were both trustees of the Anglican Redland Chapel in 1757, and a John Palmer, probably the father, was leader of one of Wesley's first bands in Bristol in 1739; John sold a number of Wesleyan items in the 1750s. When he died on 30 October 1765 *FFBJ* eulogised him as 'an eminent bookseller of this city whose honest industry and care and attention to a numerous family were very exemplary and render him a public as well as a private loss'. He was succeeded by his widow **Elizabeth** and (for a while) their son, also John, who had been apprenticed (at no premium) with the leading London bookseller Thomas Longman (also a Bristolian by birth) in 1764. Elizabeth was listed as bookseller and stationer at 15 Wine Street in 1775 and was still there in 1793, and she was also closely associated with evangelicals and pietists in Bristol, selling books published by William Pine* and Thomas Mills*, and many works by Sir James Stonehouse. When the Symes family visited Bristol in 1777 they lodged at 'Mrs Palmers' and she was identified as a keen supporter of Behmenists and Methodists in the Lukins case of 1788, so she seems to have shared many of Dyer's religious sensibilities, as her husband may also have done.

Stephen Penny (died 26 November 1780, will proved 19 April 1781) and **Martha Penny** (c. 1714–May 1780) were probably the children of Thomas Penny of Charlton Musgrave in Somerset; in 1780 Dyer and Penny visited his father's country house at 'Staverdale' (i.e. Stavordale Priory) and his 'monument in Charlton [Musgrave] church', which indeed contained a monument to Thomas Penny esquire, died in 1730 aged 57. In his autobiographical *Stephen Penny's Letter, to his sister Martha Penny* (n.p., 1780), a letter written to his sister from Rotterdam in August 1742, Penny describes leaving home at Stavordale in May 1734 to avoid some unexplained problem facing him and his brother Tom; after a period in York and then Ireland, he travels to Rotterdam in November 1734 and finds work as an accountant, where (after a physical and spiritual crisis) he is converted by the writings of Jacob Boehme (see 10/12) and other mystics. His life after 1742 is unclear, but Dyer reports that he worked in Dartmouth for 'Governor Holdsworth' until the latter's death (presumably

Arthur Holdsworth, governor of Dartmouth Castle, who died in 1753), then as a clerk for Mr Sanders in Exeter (probably Daniel Sanders of Pinhoe near Exeter, as Penny acted as his assignee in 1770), before coming to Bristol as an accountant in 1760, with his sister Martha, who lived with him until her death, caring for him after he had a stroke in 1779. Both were buried in the Quaker burial ground, and Penny worked for various Quakers, being trustee of the estate of Gabriel Goldney (d. 1786); he also lent £200 to Dyer's Quaker brother Samuel. But like Dyer he seems to have been an ecumenical pietist and mystic, drawn to Boehme, Law and Swedenborg as well as aspects of Quakerism. He subscribed to Lovett's* *Philosophical Essays* (1766). Both Thomas Chatterton and the reviewer in the *Monthly Review* made fun of his 'peculiar fancies' in his *Letters on the Fall and Restoration of Mankind* (Bristol, 1765) and his poem *An Incentive to the Love of God* (Bristol 1769), which reflect his Behmenist views. There is no indication where Penny lived in 1762.

William Pine (1739–1803) was married first to **Elizabeth** Owen, the daughter of a Publow schoolmistress; in 1780 he remarried one of the daughters of Rev. Thomas Broughton of St Mary Redcliffe. He appeared in Bristol in 1760 as the partner of the Wesleyan printer John Grabham, an apprentice of Felix and Elizabeth Farley, who had just started the short-lived *Bristol Chronicle*: when this failed in 1761 Grabham fades from the picture, leaving Pine as the main Methodist printer. This culminated in the first edition of John Wesley's works in the early 1770s, when he also brought out a new annotated pocket edition of the Bible 'of peculiar use to those who wish daily to read the Scriptures, abroad as well as at home, to edification' using special paper and a new typeface produced by the letter-founding company Pine started with Isaac Moore and the Quaker Frys. Pine re-established a newspaper in 1767, the *Bristol Gazette*, published on a Thursday, which he edited until his death. In the 1770s he fell out with Wesley for his support of radicals, like the Baptist minister Caleb Evans, who sided with the American rebels, and Wesley ceased to use him so much as a printer after 1775, but Pine remained a central figure (with his ally Henry Durbin*) in Bristol Wesleyanism, as a New Room trustee and opponent of separatism.

John Purnell was an upholder in Wine Street who died in November 1773; his widow, whom Dyer called a 'former acquaintance', died in 1785; she may be the Sophia Purnell widow at 7 Dighton Street in 1775. They may be related to Mr and Mrs Purnell of Bristol and Almondsbury who were leading Wesleyans, but the widow in that case married the preacher John Valton in 1786, so it cannot be the same people.

Benjamin Ramzor (d. 4 April 1780; will proved 8 December 1783) was a cooper at Bedminster, who was appointed in April 1759 to replace the previous cooper at Fulligrove gunpowder magazine at 14s per week. Dyer noted soon after 'the Devil has been exceeding busy ever since Ramzor undertook the magazine' and the firm had numerous problems with him, which culminated in his dismissal in January 1763, with his sister's husband Thomas George* taking over sole management at Fulligrove.

James Rouquet (d. 16 November 1776) was educated at Merchant Taylors and St John's College Oxford, but by 1750 was in Kingswood, where he ran a boarding school (charging £14 p.a. in 1752) for four years while preaching for the Wesleyans. Dyer attended his farewell sermon at the New Room in February 1754, noting that he

then obtained Anglican orders but 'seem'd to have step'd out of his proper path' as he was 'abundantly more useful whilst a Methodist preacher than afterwards'. He was not ordained priest until July 1765, when he became vicar of West Harptree (in succession to James Brown*), which he left when he became Symes'* curate at St Werburgh in February 1769. Dyer noted that Symes had 'trials with his curates' from then on, having 'much vexation at poor Roquet's irregularity stimulated by too much natural zeal'; it may be significant that Rouquet's only published sermon is entitled *Christian Strife* (Bristol, 1768)! One form this strife took was that he became a 'zealous party man' for the election of the pro-American Cruger in the 1774 election; by then he had remarried a second wife in 1773 whom Dyer reported was worth £15,000. Rouquet was praised by many for his charitable and evangelical work in Bristol, notably as chaplain of Newgate gaol. There was much sorrow at his death in 1776, and two funeral sermons survive, one by the Baptist minister Caleb Evans (another pro-Americanist) and the other by the evangelical Rowland Hill (Brown's curate).

John Rowand (d. 5 December 1778, will proved 29 July 1779) was a linendraper in Small Street (no. 21 in 1775); in July 1762 he advertised as a linendraper, wholesale and retail, with silkgauzes available at his 'warehouse' in Small Street. He was buried at St Werburgh's, though in 1775 he rented Symes's* house on Brandon Hill; Dyer started meeting him regularly at Symes's on Sunday evenings in 1755, with Allison* and Henry Davis* and from 1758 Davis, Rowand and Dyer began supporting Rachel Tucker*. On 23 April 1759 Rowand brought the 'Black Prince of Angola' to visit Dyer, and in 1760 introduced him to James Ireland (see 24/10), but thereafter they fell out over religious matters and the acquaintance faded. Although they are still doing business in 1762, the relationship is clearly very strained.

Rebecca Scudamore (1729–90) was the daughter of leading Bristol surgeon William Thornhill; her mother died when she was 9, having been 'awakened', but her father (a Presbyterian) opposed her mother's religious activity. Rebecca was brought up in fashionable society, and in 1752 married **Rowles Scudamore** (born 1712, will proved 1803) an eminent barrister, listed in 1775 not only as 'esquire, 21 Lower Maudlin Lane' but as both a J.P. for Gloucestershire and steward of Bristol's sheriff's court, placing him alongside the town clerk in the civic hierarchy. Rowles proved implacably hostile when, after a serious illness in 1759, Rebecca became very religious, although in the end he agreed to place her under the spiritual care of Symes*, minister of St Werburgh's, and she attended there the rest of her life, though she 'used externals as merely leading to what was internal'. Her spirituality resembled Symes' (and Dyer's) being based on the Bible and writers such as Kempis, Molinos, Law*, and Marsay. Like Symes and Dyer she remained firmly within the Church of England, and Dyer noted how she 'stood her ground' against the 'Methodists' designs' on her. John Wesley, reviewing her biography in 1790, called her 'an excellent woman, though mistaken in this point ... the imagination of the expiatory nature of sufferings and thence their absolute necessity to salvation' and 'a burning and shining light till the mystics persuaded her to put her light under a bushel, so that for above two years she renounced all conversation with even her pious friends'. Her biography indeed emphasises the 'experimental scriptural truth, that it is through much tribulation we enter into glory'. From 1761 her sense of suffering, and her isolation, were intensified

by her husband taking a long-term mistress, Miss Williams, and refusing to allow his wife to visit friends such as Rachel Tucker*, although she remained able to visit the Dyers in Great Garden. In 1763 Miss Williams moved in with the Scudamores as Rebecca's supposed 'companion', and in 1771, after the death of her mother-in-law (who was sympathetic to Rebecca), Rowles forced Rebecca to move out, giving her an annuity of only £60 per year despite his great wealth. She lived initially with her friend Sarah Young (*née* Weston) and then in a variety of lodgings; another close friend and one-time companion was the future Quaker preacher Mary (Polly) Stokes, later Mrs Dudley (see 9/11). Despite her reduced circumstances, she spent much time visiting the poor and the sick in prison and St Peter's Hospital, and did plainwork to raise money for charity, and she adopted Nancy Edkins as her daughter. She was noted chiefly for her spiritual letters of advice to her friends, which form the heart of her relationship with the Dyers. Many of these letters are reproduced in *Some Particulars relating to the Life and Death of Rebecca Scudamore* (Bristol, 1790). This is attributed to Sarah Young, but Dyer's diary reveals that he played a major part in the publication: 'Mrs Young having furnished me with some particulars relative to our late worthy friend Mrs S the whole contained in a sheet and a half of paper, I enlarged upon it, which Mrs Young approved; & I trust was in some parts at least, divinely assisted; But some particulars she had written respecting Mrs S's husband, I totally omitted and had much exercise of mind concerning it but what was substituted eased my mind, & I believe would have been most agreeable to the deceased; indeed it seemed as if her spirit was present. The 5 July delivered my MS to Bonner and by 28 July he completely printed 1000 copies; & altho' the diction and stile wants much amendment yet I have cause to believe that the matter this pamphlet contains has prov'd beneficial to several of the readers; This little publication has been dispersed far & near; some to Ireland, a few to N. America & to Jamaica'. He noted that an abridged version (done by John Wesley himself in August 1790) which appeared in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1793 would 'perpetuate the narrative'. Rebecca Scudamore and Rachel Tucker were Dyer's two spiritual advisors, encouraging him to despise the world and question his own worthiness, even embrace suffering as a means to regeneration.

Edward Searle (d. November 1766) was a cooper in St Thomas Street, who worked at some point for the gunpowder works; after his business failed he worked for Ramzor* in Bedminster as a cooper. He may have then re-established his business since, when his widow (who was related to the Meylers*) died (in 1768), Dyer reports that Robert Dyer* carried on the cooperage business for the children.

Rev. Samuel Seyer (c. 1719–1776) was the son of a Gloucester upholsterer (and so a freeman of Gloucester from 1744), educated at Pembroke College Oxford and a highly successful headmaster of Bristol Grammar School from 1743 until 1764 (acting as curate at St Maryport by 1754 and then Christchurch 1757–60), when he became rector of St Michael's until his death on 3 February 1776. Dyer approved his 'good discourses', attending his church regularly in 1754, and called him a 'worthy man' and his publications suggest an evangelical tendency, notably his *Essay on the Important Truths contained in the Holy Scriptures* (1761) and *Serious Address to the Members of the Church of England* (Bristol, 1772). He and his wife **Anne** (d. 1801) had 4 children by 1762, including the Bristol antiquarian and clergyman Samuel Seyer

(1757–1831), whose papers are BRO 12147, including his father's will and probate. See the son's *ODNB* entry.

Mr Sheppard is probably the Rev. Edward Sheppard, a Merton graduate who was ordained by the Bishop of Bath and Wells in September 1761; a man of that name was vicar of Bettiscombe (Dorset) in 1778.

John Southcote (c. 1739–1777) was a master at the Wesleyan Kingswood School until 1760, when he opened his own school (teaching the 3 Rs, accounts and navigation) in Bristol, initially in the Horse Fair and from 1764 over the old assembly room in St Augustine's Back; by 1775 he is listed at 33 Broadmead, where he died aged 38 on 3 July 1777. In 1774 he published *The Seamen's Journal Book*, calling himself a 'teacher of mathematics and writing-master at Bristol'; it was published by Pine* and praised by John Wesley. Dyer met him occasionally, but on 31 January 1761, after they visited a dying woman together, he noted that 'his language hurt me' because 'the Methodists were too apt to lay down as absolutely necessary for every soul to experience' a 'sense of possible horrors designed to alarm and awaken the soul'.

Henry Strachey junior (1736–1810), later first baronet, was the son of **Henry Strachey senior** (1706–66) who had inherited both Sutton Court and shares in the Woolley gunpowder works in 1746 from his brother Hodges Strachey, who had married Ann Parkin, from the family of John Parkin, who had first developed the works in the 1720s. The Strachey family papers regarding the works can be found in SRO DD/SH/27. Henry junior was in London lobbying the Ordnance Board in 1762, prior to a distinguished political career, initially with Clive in India. See *ODNB* entry.

Henry Sweeting (d. 1774; will proved 6 February 1775), was a grocer. He was clearly a friend of Dyer's brother John* and helped Dyer during John's last illness in 1763–4. When he died in 1774 Dyer noted that he 'had been awakened two years'.

Rev Richard Symes (31 December 1722–18 October 1799) and his wife (d. 1798) were among the Dyers' closest friends (Dyer and Henry Durbin* substituted for family members in the baptism of one of Symes' children in 1764, and were initially joint trustees of his Bradley estate). Symes was a graduate of St Alban Hall Oxford, ordained in 1747, and vicar at Chewton Mendip in Somerset before he was 'forced' (in Dyer's words) to swap the living with St Werburgh's in Bristol in 1754; presumably he met his wife at Chewton, where her brother Mr Hunt (see 18/2) lived. In 1758, according to Dyer, he rejected the Corporation's offer to be the first minister of the new St George's parish in Kingswood which went instead to Hart*. When, in 1769, he inherited from a cousin an estate at Lewisham in Kent (bequeathed in 1723) worth £500 per annum, he invested £11,970 in an estate at (West) Bradley in Somerset, south of Glastonbury, described by Edmund Rack as 'a pretty small stone sashed house with pleasant gardens' adjoining the churchyard. In 1774, the Symes moved to London for 2 years while their son **Richard** ('Master Dickey' in 1762) studied for the bar; in 1781 he married Ann Bowles, and they were married for 57

years until his death in 1838 at Westbury-on-Trym. After 1776 Symes and his wife lived for some time at Bradley, but in 1783 they returned to Bristol until their deaths, though by 1795 Dyer noted that Symes was 'now too feeble' to do any duties. Since the 1760s he had employed evangelical curates, including Daniel Haynes (who succeeded James Brown* and Rouquet* at West Harptree in 1769), then Rouquet, then Thomas Robins, and finally Edward Bowles, presumably a relative of his son's wife. Dyer thought Symes' ministry at St Werburgh 'an eternal blessing to many' and attended it twice most Sundays and the quarterly sacraments for many years. Symes's services seems to have attracted like-minded Bristolians, such as Mrs Scudamore*, from outside his tiny parish, which only had 34 families in 1766; the parish was valued at £100 per year and Symes paid his curate Haynes £40 p.a. Like Dyer, Symes was a devotee of Jacob Boehme (see 10/12) and William Law*, and regarded electricity as a proof of their claims about the spiritual basis of creation. By July 1760 Symes had an electrical machine made on Dyer's model, and like him he took up the cure of patients by electrical means: accounts of such cures form the second part of his book *Fire Analysed* (Bristol, 1771). He also subscribed to Lovett's* *Philosophical Essays* in 1766. Already in 1761 Symes had written anonymously to the *Gentleman's Magazine* a long piece claiming that electricity proved the truths of Behmenism, and produced a book which Dyer edited and prepared for publication in October and he read out this 'treatise' on 4 February 1762; it is not clear why it was then laid aside. In January 1771 Dyer again perused a draft of it, and it went to the publisher in May 1771. Dyer noted that it immediately drew a 'satirical advertisement' in the *Bristol Gazette*, and the London periodicals were no kinder. 'F.A.' in *Monthly Review* thought 'the mystic nonsense and credulity' of the first seven chapters lessened the credit of the useful final chapter on cures, while the *Critical Review* could learn nothing from it, due to 'the mystic stile of a hermetic philosopher'. Dyer reports that later in his life Symes completed two other works, the first being 'Dialogues between Sarx and Pneuma' (the flesh/spirit dichotomy of Paul's letter to the Galatians), whose manuscript he edited in 1775. This was published as *Truth and Error Contrasted, in a Familiar Dialogue* (104 pages, 1776), by a 'Lover of Truth', which received a lengthy, if rather bemused, review, with extensive quotations by 'W' in the *London Review* for 1776, culminating in amused scepticism at the author's suggestion that lunatics might be recovered by subjecting them to near-drowning and then resuscitation (Dyer was the founder in 1775 of the Bristol branch of the Society for the Rescue of Persons Apparently Drowned); the *Critical Review* for 1776 dismisses it more curtly as one 'who seems to be a quaker' with an 'air of arrogance and self-sufficiency' and the *Monthly Review* (1777) was equally dismissive, unable to decide if the author was an enthusiast or a madman: both also highlight the suggested cure for lunatics. The *London Magazine* (1776) also thought it a defence of the 'Quaker theory of resurrection' by one considering himself 'extraordinarily enlightened'. Dyer was also struck by the similarity of Symes' views to Quaker ideas, noting in 1799 that he had once 'lent his sermon on inward teaching' (not published) to his Quaker friend, the preacher Thomas Rutter, 'who said it was the doctrine of quakers'. In 1787 Dyer reports 'Mr Symes read his remarks on the latter part of Dr Johnson's life which were long after printed' (this must be on Sir John Hawkins' *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1787), not Boswell's, which did not come out until 1791) but I cannot identify such a printed work. In January 1760 Symes had moved house from Marlborough Street into Upper Maudlin Lane.

Rachel Tucker (c.1720–1799) was one of at least three sisters, whose mother died in Dr White's almshouse in 1758. The others were **Peggy** and **Susannah/Sukey Tucker** (d. 1799); in 1776 they both took over the grocer's shop of Elizabeth Read at 139 Redcliff Street and in 1793 Susannah was a grocer at 26 Redcliff Street. Dyer was first introduced to Rachel (whom he calls 'a living Armelle', referring to the seventeenth-century French peasant mystic, Armelle Nicolas) by Symes* in June 1755. He notices that she nearly died later that month (and that Charles Wesley mentioned her as dying at the New Room) but she 'lived a painful life' for another 44 years. In 1758 Dyer, Henry Davis* and Rowand* 'together raised 2s 6d a week for her'; another frequent visitor to her was the Quaker Hawksworth*. Dyer kept up his support of her throughout his life, providing in his will drawn up in 1797 that she should receive 4s weekly and an annual allowance of £7 10s, but she died (and was buried at Redcliffe) in 1799. She appears to have stayed regularly with her patrons like Allison*, Davis and Dyer, alternating this with periods in her 'little hovel' in Maiden Court off Marlborough Street and then in December 1768 moved with Thomas Bull's family to Dalton Court; in 1783 she appears on the Wesleyan membership list in Hillgrove Street (see introduction for her chequered relationship with the Wesleys). She kept a diary in which she recorded weekly her physical and spiritual challenges and the Bible passages which strengthened her; the diary for 1767 (not reproduced here) is preserved by Dyer at the back of his diary for 1762 and he clearly found her a spiritual inspiration, as well as a source of frequently trenchant advice on his shortcomings and how he should behave.

Robinson Tudway, a hosier in St Thomas Street, whose death Dyer records in April 1763, left a widow, Ann, who later lived in Carolina Street/Court. His daughter **Nancy** (for whose afflictions see 6/2) may be the 'Miss Tudway' that Dyer records died there in 1770. Intriguingly, in 1773 Rowland Hill, then James Brown's* curate at Kingston near Taunton, married a Mary Tudway, born in 1747, though she may have been from the Tudway family of Wells; when in London in 1777 Dyer visited Clement Tudway, M.P. for Wells.

Rev. Samuel Walker (1713–61) of Truro was a leading evangelical within the Church of England who corresponded with Symes* and was supportive of the work of James Brown*, Hart* and Chapman*. In October 1757 Dyer heard that he was in Bristol and preaching at Christchurch. See *ODNB* entry.

Timothy Wallis from London was appointed manager of the Littleton gunpowder works in 1755 and remained in the post until 1765.

William Wansey (d. 1780), one of the partners on the Woolley side of the gunpowder company from 1753, was an Africa merchant and lobbyist, warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1755, and son-in-law of alderman Barnes (see 25/12). Dyer was excited in 1763 when Wansey told him that he approved of some of Law's* writings and lent Dyer the 'spiritual diary of his brother [d. 1740] at Warminster' noting 'surely there had been religion in that family'. But when Barnes went bankrupt, Wansey's business failed soon after and in March 1765 Dyer was required to prove a debt of hundreds of pounds Wansey owed to Baugh*, Ames* and co; in February 1767 Michael Miller bought his share in the Woolley works. In 1775 he is still listed as 'William Wansey

merchant' at 15 Stokes Croft, but when he died in February 1780 Dyer called him a 'tidewaiter in the customs [an officer who boarded arriving ships to prevent customs fraud] and former merchant'.

George Whitefield (1714–70) from Gloucester was the leading figure in the English evangelical revival alongside the Wesley brothers, and founded the Bristol Tabernacle (see 16/4). Famed as a preacher, he attracted Dyer to the Tabernacle every time he came to Bristol. See *ODNB* entry.

Charles Whittuck (d. 1788) of Hanham, a Baptist associated with the Pithay meeting in Bristol, was a partner in the Warmley Brassworks; his brother Joseph, a cooper, and Joseph's son, Charles, a hatmaker, both lived in Castle Street in 1775.

James Williams (d. 1771) was a Carmarthen ironmonger's son, apprenticed, like Palmer*, to Benjamin Hickey in 1744 and freed as a bookbinder in 1752; initially he worked for Hickey, acting as auctioneer for a sale of books in Hickey's shop in November 1753. By 1759 he had his own business in St Nicholas Street, and from 1760 advertised a series of major book sales at the Great Room next to the Bush Tavern, including selling off the stock of several other booktraders. In May 1767 he called himself a licensed broker and auctioneer, noting that he 'appraises and sells any library or parcel of books in which branch he has been regularly brought up'. In 1768 he and his wife **Penelope** also took over the Griffin Inn on St Michael's Hill alongside his auctioneering, and when he died in February 1771 his widow stated she would continue his business as a working stationer and bookbinder, but in 1775 she is listed as 'china and earthenware seller' with lodgings to let at 4 Charlotte Street off Queen Square. Dyer found it impossible to resist attending Williams' book auctions, but constantly reprimanded himself for wasting time at them!

Matthew Worgan (d. 1793), who sometimes attends the powder company committee meetings, was works manager at the Woolley gunpowder mills. His father John had become superintendent of works there in 1740 and Matthew took over in 1747 and in the 1760s inherited the share of the works belonging to his aunt Elizabeth, daughter of John Parkin. In the 1780s Edmund Rack notes that Matthew Worgan esquire was lord of the manor there, owning the whole parish and the gunpowder mills; in the 1790s he lent the gunpowder company money and also owned £5000 of shares in the Bristol Brass Wire Company. He was presumably related to the Bristolians Thomas Worgan silversmith (in Tower Lane in 1753) and Matthew Worgan watchmaker (in Wine Street by 1765 and at 61 Wine Street and 18 Hillgrove Street in 1775; will proved 5 April 1798).

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